

JAN 30 1947

January 25, 1947

THE *Nation*

The Crisis of Zionism

BY JOEL CARMICHAEL

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Bad News for Tories

British Labor's Program for Land and Railroads

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

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We Need More Steel!

BY BRYANT PUTNEY

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Sweden: Still the Middle Way

BY ROBERT HARVEY

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Covering Europe!

Del Vayo to Report from Principal European Countries



This week *The Nation* is sending its European editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo, to Europe to report on current political and economic conditions in the principal Continental countries. His dispatches to *The Nation*, which will include interviews with men now in power, will be no less welcome than were his European reports in the spring of 1946.



Werth to Visit Finland, Russian Zone in Germany, Report Moscow Meeting

Alexander Werth, *The Nation's* Moscow correspondent, off for Finland and the Russian zone in Germany, will report on these territories in his bi-monthly cables to *The Nation*. He will then return to Moscow in time to cover the coming meeting of Foreign Ministers.

Sternberg, Author of "The Coming Crisis," Analyzes German Economic Situation



Fritz Sternberg, author of the recently published book "The Coming Crisis," which has received wide acclaim from leading critics, has prepared for *The Nation* a penetrating analysis of the German economic situation. No problem is of such immediate importance to the recovery of Europe. His article can well be considered a memorandum to the coming meeting of Foreign Ministers in Moscow, and is *must* reading for American liberals.

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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NUMBER 4

The Shape of Things

TRY TO IMAGINE WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov were to deliver a tirade against the American Secretary of State and then call on Ambassador Walter Bedell Smith to bear witness for the Russians against his own government. Regardless of how Smith might react to so unique a performance, we suggest that he would be yanked out of Moscow before he had time to gather up his protocol. Yet a completely parallel set of circumstances is reported from Buenos Aires, and hardly an eyebrow has been raised. Accusing Secretary Byrnes of being "intolerant and unjust," Argentine Foreign Minister Bramuglia announces that "Mr. Messersmith, who is a gentleman [in contrast to Mr. Byrnes?] and whom the Argentine people admire as a fine expression of the spirit of a grand people, is the witness of our efforts." Gentleman though he may be, Ambassador Messersmith has uttered not a syllable in defense of the retiring Secretary of State, while in private he has been bearing witness all too glibly for the Perón regime. Mr. Byrnes leaves office convinced that no all-inclusive hemisphere-defense treaty is possible until the Buenos Aires government displays "reasonable and substantial compliance . . . with its obligations" to shake off Nazi influence. If that is to be General Marshall's policy, he would do well to start off by recalling Mr. Messersmith. If he does, he will antagonize powerful Senators, particularly Vandenberg, who is now chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and who believes that we can "restore the warmth of New-World unity" by ignoring unpleasant facts in the Argentine. Perhaps even more significant, he will antagonize the army, which naturally views our Latin American policy wholly in military terms. This will be the first indication of whether or not Marshall carries over to his own government the detached attitude toward the military whose "dominating influence" he so deplored in China.

★

BOTH NORWEGIAN AND SOVIET OFFICIALS have been rather grudging in providing detailed information about Russian proposals for a revision of the 1920 treaty which settled a fifty-year dispute over the ownership of Spitzbergen. This treaty assigned full sovereign rights to the bleak but strategically important Arctic

archipelago to Norway on condition that it was never to be used "for warlike purposes." Russia, excluded from the family of nations at the time, did not participate in the negotiations but later ratified the treaty. Now, however, Moscow claims that the pact is invalid because (a) it was concluded in Russia's absence, (b) the signatories included Italy and Japan, and (c) it disregarded Russian strategic and economic interests. It appears that views on the subject were exchanged between Russia and Norway at the end of 1944, and according to Soviet sources an understanding about joint defense of the islands was reached. The Norwegians have not admitted as much as that and are believed to have told Moscow that the situation has changed owing to the subsequent organization of the United Nations. It has also been changed, though this point has not been stressed officially, by American abandonment of efforts to obtain permanent aviation bases in Iceland—a project which naturally alarmed Russia and provided it with some grounds for seeking a military foothold in Spitzbergen. There seems, by the same reasoning, to be less excuse now for a revival of the Russian claim, and American and British objections to any bilateral revision of the multilateral Spitzbergen treaty are reasonable. But if the Russian proposals are ever put forward formally, it might be well for the United Nations to undertake a review of the whole Arctic region, which has become an aerial link between continents, with the idea of promoting an agreement for its military neutralization.

★

PROVIDED ITALY REMAINS "STABLE," THE American government will grant that country a loan of \$100,000,000, to be expended, not in relief, for which President Truman will later ask Congress to provide, but in the purchase of raw materials. The significance of the loan clearly lies in the attached conditions and in the reconstructive pattern it defines, for the amount cannot be judged large enough to modify the present crisis to any great extent. It will not bring badly trailing wages within reach of prices, which have risen about 4,000 per cent since the end of the war. Nor can so small a sum provide work for many of the two million unemployed. Italy, for all that Washington's promised aid will do, will remain "a country seething with misery and unrest."

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Shorn of its inadequate coal supplies by the peace treaty and lacking essential raw materials, Italy is not even guaranteed the means of repaying loans and so obtaining a continuance of credit. It would seem, therefore, that the loan is principally a political gesture, for it clearly invites the Italian people to put their trust in the Christian Democrats and those parties which prove able to adjust their ideas to the demands of that incompetent group. If that is the intention, two things must be said. The program of the Christian Democrats holds out no hope of a socially resurgent Italy, whatever the party may accomplish for civil liberties and the church. And second, Signor Gasperi's success has probably been too small to win any great number of fresh adherents to his party. The results of his visit therefore are unlikely to lessen the political tension in Italy—a tension now increased by the split in the Socialist Party.

✱

HENRY FORD II MADE HIS PRICE-CUTTING announcement before last week's issue of *The Nation* could have reached him. So we cannot claim that his action was influenced by Simon O. Lesser's able demonstration of the necessity of lower prices if business is to prosper. We can, however, hail it as a constructive move and express the hope that it will prove the beginning of an orderly downward readjustment of prices generally. Mr. Ford himself explained that he was prescribing "shock treatment" for "the insane spiral of mounting costs and rising prices." The immediate effect has been to shock his fellow automobile makers into official silence. Off the record they complain that young Ford has pulled a fast one and assert that his cuts look better than they really are. They point out that Ford prices are still well above what they were before the company obtained OPA permission last September for a 6 per cent increase. Moreover, Ford models, except for the cheapest one, are still more expensive than comparable Chevrolet cars. Consequently there is no reason to anticipate a general outburst of price-cutting as the result of Ford's initiative, though it may well discourage any more price increases in the automobile field. It can also be viewed as a smart move to outflank union demands for higher wages. However, as Richard Leonard of the United Automobile Workers has pointed out, an average 1 per cent cut in the price of Fords does nothing, by itself, to bring down the cost of living for automobile workers.

✱

THOSE PAUL BUNYANS OF THE TAX FOREST, the Republican members of the House Ways and Means Committee, have opened the cutting season by agreeing to increase taxes. At least they have decided to continue indefinitely at present levels those excise levies which would otherwise be automatically reduced on July 1.

This move follows a Presidential recommendation, but it does not mean necessarily that Congress will also accept Mr. Truman's proposal to earmark the additional revenue produced for debt reduction. On the contrary, it appears that Representative Knutson, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, is looking to these excise taxes to provide part of the funds required to carry out his campaign pledge to cut income taxes by 20 per cent. In other words, a reduction in taxes, which will be vastly more significant to the upper brackets than to the lower, will be financed in part by imposts which fall most heavily on the lower brackets. In order to make this scheme more palatable, these imposts are referred to as "luxury taxes." We agree that jewelry, furs, cabarets, and possibly liquor may be so described, but we suggest that cosmetics can hardly be described as luxuries especially when toilet soap is included in this category. And telephone, telegraph, and transportation services, as well as luggage and electric light bulbs, are surely necessities in America today. We would therefore suggest to Congress a review of all excise-tax schedules as a step toward the reduction or elimination of those that burden the consumption of articles of common, daily use. Supposing that the country can afford tax cuts at present, there is no good reason why the income-tax payer should have precedence.

★

MAJORITY LEADER HALLECK, ANNOUNCING the committee assignments of the new House of Representatives, reports that the selection was "an awful job." In a slightly different sense, we think so, too—but it is hardly worse than was to be expected. The seniority rule, less officially known as the senility rule, dictated, for example, that the Appropriations Committee be presided over by John Taber of New York, who genuinely believes that no Democrat can safely be trusted to spend a dollar of public funds. It decreed, too, that the all-powerful Rules Committee should come under the sway of Leo E. Allen of Illinois, who just happens to be a Martin-Halleck man and therefore a Dewey man. But it curiously failed to operate in the case of the Committee on Education and Labor. Richard J. Welch, a California Republican with a remarkably liberal voting record who was in line for the chairmanship, was shunted aside in favor of Fred A. Hartley, an orthodox party hack with an almost unblemished record of anti-labor votes. Unfortunately, Mary T. Norton, who headed the Labor Committee in the days of Democratic control, decided against staying on as ranking minority member. She will be sorely missed. By a law of mutual attraction, the newly elected John McDowell gravitates to the Un-American Affairs Committee, where presumably he will judge un-Americanism by the same standards applied in the racially prejudiced little paper he publishes in a suburb of Pittsburgh.

WE WISH TO URGE OUR READERS TO GIVE their most determined support to the campaign just launched by the United Jewish Appeal, under the chairmanship of Henry Morgenthau, Jr., which has set itself the task of raising \$170,000,000. This fund is to be administered by three organizations. The United Service for New Americans undertakes to assist in the adjustment of newcomers to the United States; the United Palestine Appeal provides for the training and care of immigrants into Palestine; and the Joint Distribution Committee will give relief to distressed Jews in all parts of the world. All are worthy services. There are a million refugees and displaced persons, a quarter of them Jews, living in the European camp set up by UNRRA. In its wisdom the United States has taken the lead in bringing about the abolition of UNRRA, as a result of which all relief to stateless persons will come to an end in June of this year. At present there is the utmost uncertainty as to whether future aid will be granted to stateless European refugees, for so far the International Relief Organization, set up on paper by the United Nations, remains without effective sponsorship. Private effort, even of the most generous dimensions, cannot provide a final solution of the problem, which must be tackled by the victorious powers. Yet the United Jewish Appeal, if successful in its campaign, will be able to do more than relieve physical distress. Its services will be a sign to the politically abandoned people living in the camps of Europe that they are not forgotten by men of good-will.

★

THE SERIOUS EFFECTS OF THE NEWSPRINT shortage, discussed in relation to the smaller American papers by Bryant Putney in last week's *Nation*, are by no means confined to this country. With American publishers getting the lion's share of the world supply, it is not too much to say that unequal distribution constitutes a real threat to democratic government in other lands. Interviewed in New York last month, Sir Robert Webber, director of the British Kemsley newspapers, said: "Free enterprise and real democracy depend on the people's free access to knowledge. Today the United States is consuming two-thirds of the world's newsprint. . . . If this amount is necessary to maintain the American way of life, then there can be only enough newsprint in the world for 200,000,000 democrats. The rest will have to go totalitarian." This is much more than a business matter to be settled by the longest purse in an open market. Carlos P. Romulo's proposal that the United Nations consider a world newsprint allocation system seems to us one on which early action should be taken.

★

ONE OF THOSE GOBLINS THAT THRIVE ON printers' ink went on a spree in *The Nation's* office last week. He blinded the eyes of editors and proofreaders

to a slip of the typewriter that turned Admiral Leahy into a general. He somehow brought about a transposition between the words "deflation" and "inflation" making nonsense of the first paragraph of the editorial, "G. O. P. Budget Problem." Finally he snatched Randall Jarrell's name from its place at the end of his review of Robert Lowell's new book of poetry. We apologize to our readers for all this mischief and promise to watch out more carefully for such impish saboteurs.

The Voice of Europe

THE thirty days of Léon Blum may prove to have been a turning point in French post-war history. Heading a ministry doomed in advance to a brief span of life, the veteran Socialist did not hesitate to grapple with the thorniest problems of domestic and foreign policy. Since we wrote last week of Blum's dramatic effort to turn the tide of inflation, he has found still another urgent job to be done. In the last few hours of his premiership he flew to London, ironed out a number of outstanding Anglo-French differences, and returned with a preliminary agreement for a treaty of mutual assistance.

Thanks to this bold initiative, there is now hope of banishing the coolness which has characterized Anglo-French relations for the past two years, a coolness which has caused great distress to the most progressive elements in both countries. If this hope is fulfilled, something new will be added to the international picture, for these two countries, which in their different ways represent the best elements of European civilization, between them hold the key to the moral and physical regeneration of Europe. When Britain and France stand firmly together, the voice of Europe will once again be heard above the uproar of the two great non-European powers who now dominate world councils.

Britain and France have so many common problems and common interests that their failure to cooperate more closely seems unnatural. Allies in two wars against the same enemy, they both emerged from the last conflict battered and nearly exhausted. Both are engaged in a tremendous struggle to restore trade and industry and to establish a socialist economy within the framework of the civil liberties that they cherish. And both face the appallingly difficult task of liquidating empires which they can no longer rule without overstraining their diminished resources. This fact alone must turn the eyes of both Britain and France more and more toward Europe and toward the problem of integrating and expanding its economy.

The largest visible obstacle to understanding between the two countries has been the question of Germany. The French, who have so often known the bitterness of inva-

sion, insist that security demands a decentralized Reich shorn of its western industrial district. The more intuitive British dread the consequences for Europe as a whole of a total German collapse. They fear the creation in Central Europe of a political and economic vacuum which would inevitably be filled by a rushing wind from the east. The object of M. Blum's London conversations was a reconciliation of these two points of view. That is urgently needed, for unless Britain and France can agree on a common German policy, the influence of both will be diminished at the forthcoming Moscow meeting and they may find themselves forced to accept whatever compromise is finally ground out by the clash of American and Russian interests.

As a result of M. Blum's visit to Britain, negotiations for an Anglo-French treaty are to be started shortly. Both countries agree that they have equal interest in protecting themselves against a fresh German menace and, therefore, in making sure that the necessary economic reconstruction of Germany will not lay the basis for future aggression. The best possible safeguard would of course be a firm and permanent alliance between Britain and France that extended beyond military co-operation to a large degree of economic integration. The aggregate population of the two countries exceeds that of Germany, and their joint industrial strength is greater.

Britain and France have reached the point of consulting on their economic plans with a view to preventing conflict, and it is manifest that a much closer relationship, even a customs union, would prove mutually advantageous. But such a development would bring us within sight of a Western bloc. And that has been pronounced anathema by the Soviet government, which, through its influence on the powerful Communist Party of France, is in a position to make good its veto.

Russian antagonism to any kind of close relationship between the states of Western Europe has been fanned by the kind of support that idea has received. It is therefore most unfortunate that M. Blum's visit to London coincided with a new manifesto sponsored by Winston Churchill calling for a European Federation. Even worse was the speech made on January 17 by John Foster Dulles, a Republican who is close to the State Department. Like Mr. Churchill, Mr. Dulles advocates European federation frankly as a bulwark against Russia and thus injects political poison into a plan which has no chance of success when built on so negative a basis. Even European countries in which Communist influence is negligible are likely to be repelled by an invitation to organize themselves as America's front line against Russia.

We ourselves wish to see a union at least of Western Europe because without that we believe Europe's economy will eventually collapse and the unhappy continent become a bone of contention between the United States

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and Russia. But we do not believe that union can be created either through fear of Russia, which has only a disintegrating effect, or by American pressure and patronage. It will come if and when Europe shakes itself free of subservience to both America and Russia and finds its own voice. M. Blum's flight to London, the act of a great Frenchman who is a great European, was a first step in that direction.

Banner Year for Co-Ops

CITIZENS who are caught in the big squeeze between their pay checks and the cost of living might well look to consumers' cooperatives as one aid to survival; in this country, in fact, members of nearly 2,500,000 families are now helping to make ends meet through co-op participation. A 1946 round-up newsletter of the Cooperative League of the United States enthusiastically reports this statistic and the even more impressive one that 85,000,000 families from twenty-two nations are now associated with the International Cooperative Alliance, an organization with the status of permanent consultant to the United Nations' Economic and Social Council.

The most dramatic co-op development of 1946, a year which saw both national and international co-op business surpass all former volume, was the organization of the International Cooperative Petroleum Association, a lusty young project that intends to "match strength with the world's monopolies." Within the United States and Canada alone, National Cooperatives, Inc., and its affiliates owned and operated by the end of 1946 more than 500 oil wells, 1,600 miles of pipe line, a number of refineries, and a cracking plant.

But oil development is just the frosting, at this stage, as are the radio station in Ohio being built under co-op sponsorship and the projected utility operations in the Pacific Northwest, where private companies are stalling on a \$34,440,000 co-op bid for the property of Pacific Power and Light. The main strength of the consumers' cooperative movement lies in its vast food-store enterprises and its production of a varied list of goods for its members. It is now doing a billion dollars' yearly business in food sales and such other fields as housing, hospital facilities, insurance, credit unions, coal mining, and machinery production. Over 1,000 food stores are now run by affiliates of National Cooperatives, Inc., of which almost 10 per cent are—or will soon be—super-markets in the largest American cities. The super-market in the Riverdale section of New York has been called "the best-looking food store of any kind" in that city. Labor groups, notably the C. I. O., have thrown their weight in support of the establishment of cooperative food stores, particularly in Detroit, where co-ops are facing high-pressure, private-enterprise opposition.

Opposition to cooperatives is not a new thing, but it is now waxing day by day, almost in proportion to the startling expansion of cooperatives themselves. Business-with-profits must automatically dread the successes of business-without-profits; this is borne out by the cold shoulder tendered every new co-op venture by rival free-enterprise merchants and producers, and it is emphasized by the avidity with which the press ignores co-op achievements. Consumers' cooperatives are only a small segment of the entire cooperative movement, but they are of course blanketed by the present campaign of big-business interests to get co-op tax exemptions repealed. This sort of news does, indeed, receive press attention, and it is a question which will be discussed in a later issue of this magazine. For the record, however, it is important to stress that *consumers'* cooperatives are *not* tax exempt, Hearst headlines and propaganda leaflets of the National Tax Equality Association notwithstanding.

What consumer cooperatives have accomplished to date is impressive; yet they play a small role in our economy. It is their still greater potentialities that arouse the fears of Hearst editorialists and N. T. E. A. pamphleteers. But those to whom a truly sound economy means goods and services within the reach of the entire population will take heart from the cooperative record for 1946 and from the same potentialities that prey on the minds of "free-enterprisers."

Herman the Pretender

LAST July, in an unconsciously prophetic phrase, we offered "condolences to the state of Georgia on the untimely resurrection of Eugene Talmadge." With the ominous turn that events have taken, we can only deepen those condolences. On the earlier occasion, Talmadge *père*, thanks to Georgia's rotten-borough electoral system, had just been nominated for the governorship, although outvoted by more than 70,000. As a result of last week's fantastic developments his son Herman sits in the Governor's chair on the basis of 697 votes out of 1,000,000.

Talmadge's claim to the governorship, for which, incidentally, he has had not the faintest training or experience, rests on a far-fetched technicality. Under Georgia's constitution the Legislature may choose a governor from among those with the highest vote in cases where no candidate has a majority. Talmadge contends that death eliminated his father's majority and that the Legislature was therefore within its rights in choosing him on the basis of the 697 write-in vote provided by the Talmadge machine to meet just this contingency. Having received the vote of the Legislature, which is elected by the same preposterous county-unit system as the gover-

nor, he has seized both the Capitol and the Executive Mansion, backed by segments of the State's National Guard.

With the federal government traditionally loath to interfere in affairs of this kind, Lieutenant Governor M. E. Thompson, the logical successor now that Ellis Arnall has stepped down, has no recourse other than the courts of his state. In this connection it is encouraging to have the word of the former Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court that Talmadge's claim is utterly without merit. To avoid a complete breakdown of government it should be possible to force an immediate decision. Should the Talmadge forces then refuse to recognize a verdict against them, federal intervention could be invoked under the Constitutional provision that guarantees "to every state in this Union a republican form of government," as well as protection against domestic violence when such aid is legally invoked.

A great deal more is at stake here than the ambitions of an unscrupulous little politician. As governor, Arnall brought Georgia to a historic turning-point, fateful for the entire South. The state will either continue to follow the path of industrial and social emancipation that he has laid out for it or slump back into four more years of corrupt cracker government, dominated socially by the Klan and exploited financially by Northern corporations. Thompson himself gives little promise of being another Arnall, but neither would he be the official errand boy of the Klan. The majority vote against Talmadge last July shows the way Georgians want to go. And it underscores the fatuousness of the New York *Times's* contention that the Arnall-Thompson forces should yield because "the people . . . voted for a return to Talmadgeism, 'white supremacy', general reaction, and Negro disfranchisement."

The Crisis of Zionism

BY JOEL CARMICHAEL

Paris, January 6

WHEN I arrived at Basel some days before the end of the World Zionist Congress, the delegates were suffering from a particularly nasty cold spell and the baffling depression of a meeting in which the normal contentiousness had not succeeded in clarifying even the basic issues. Things were so mixed up that the delegates found it impossible to explain the situation to an outsider. I quickly gave up any attempt to keep track of the molecular shifts in the intra-party and inter-faction maneuverings and contented myself with a strenuous effort to grasp the points of contention.

It was apparent that two, or possibly two-and-a-half, fundamental matters had occupied the Congress: one was the terrorism in Palestine; the other, the question of participation in the negotiations with the British government scheduled for London in January. Closely connected with the second was the question of Weizmann.

Formally a clear decision on both was reached. Terrorism was condemned with a fair degree of unanimity—an attempt by the Revisionists, the Zionist party closest in spirit to the Palestinian terrorists, to water down the resolution was badly defeated. And by a vote of 171 to 154, with 25 abstaining, it was decided not to go to London under "the present circumstances."

JOEL CARMICHAEL, one of The Nation's European correspondents, recently contributed two articles on Russian policy in Germany. A third will appear next week.

But though the division on these issues certainly constituted the public aspect of the Congress, and though all the tortuous proceedings and all the tensions and horse-trading connected with the wrangle over whether or not to "deal" with the British were crystallized in the resolutions, it would be naive to take their passage as an objective reflection of the real situation in the Zionist movement.

This question of participating in the London negotiations was naturally the hub of many speeches. In the course of the general debate—an exhausting performance in which the representatives of all Congress groups spoke as long as they could on a maximum of topics—the two attitudes on this subject were squarely opposed to each other in the speeches by Dr. N. Goldmann, who defended the affirmative position of the outgoing executive, and M. Sneh, the reputed chief of the Haganah, the main defense organization of Jewish Palestine. To my mind this clear-cut confrontation of what appeared to be two diametrically opposed principles revealed, not their philosophical irreconcilability, but the exclusively tactical nature of the entire question.

For the negative position on going to the London negotiations did not by any means imply a desire to sever all relations with Great Britain, as it would have done if it had been a matter of principle; no serious proposal was made to transfer the Palestine mandate to the United Nations or some other power. This reluctance

to push the argument to its logical conclusion, which could only have been a suggestion for the elimination of Great Britain, surely demonstrated that all the positions taken up were supported for tactical reasons. Considering the unfriendliness of the British government to the Zionist position ever since 1939—to say nothing of the whole past history of the mandate—these tactics seemed to have an almost compelling plausibility. What baffled me, however, was the extraordinary blowing up of a choice of tactics into a conflict of principle; it struck me as a bizarre and hysterical waste of time.

And when talking with various "informed sources," I found it extremely difficult to keep my eye on the line of demarcation between the two factions, even when I considered only those who, I could not but assume, were genuinely actuated by principle. It is true that the Revisionists seemed sincerely to desire a complete break with Britain; but Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, the leader of the largest section of American Zionists, is known to have told Bevin himself that he would like nothing better than to come to London, provided he were offered a "good" partition of Palestine. Here again was a tactical attitude I found impossible to reconcile with the unbending quality of Dr. Silver's public statements.

What was most distressing from a polemical point of view was the perplexing vacuum one came up against in seeking an alternative to some form of "dealing" with Great Britain. For even the rupture of relations—whatever that might mean—when coupled with the unanimous demand for maximum immigration, to say nothing of a Jewish state, could only lead, logically and politically, to a state of war. And it is evident that the clear formulation of such a suggestion would be enough to insure its collapse.

Then there was the striking way in which the discussion of this basic issue cut across practically all party lines, with the possible exception of the Revisionists and the Hashomir Hatzair, a Socialist Zionist party with a Communist tinge and a special position on Palestinian statehood, which they would like to see take a bi-national Arab-Jewish form. The largest parties, the General Zionists and the Socialist Labor Party, or Ichud, were split asunder. David Ben-Gurion, the head of the Ichud, carried on a fanatical campaign against the so-called moderate position on this question of negotiating with Great Britain. But after keeping the Congress on tenterhooks for the better part of a week while the grueling inter-party struggle went on, he was beaten in his own party by a vote of ninety-one to thirty, and was consequently compelled by its rules to cast a public vote, in conformity with the wishes of the majority, in favor of the negotiations.

In this so-called conflict of principle I found it

impossible not to see a clash of personalities. Throughout his career in the Zionist movement Dr. Weizmann has been identified as a moderate, a man whom all shades of British opinion united in respecting and who served as a sort of liaison with the British government. As such he would inevitably be against any form of terrorism and would favor, in principle, almost any kind of pacific negotiation. It may be that those Zionist groups which were genuinely intransigent on the question of "concessions" to Great Britain, such as the Revisionists and more especially Mr. Ben-Gurion's faction of the Socialist Labor Party, allowed the question to be formulated as one of principle chiefly as a method of shelving Weizmann.

Dr. Weizmann's candidacy for the presidency of the organization was intimately tied up with the question of going to London: a pro-London resolution would have allowed him to stand for president and would doubtless have insured his victory. The anti-London resolution that was actually passed by a coalition of Dr. Silver's American Zionist followers, the Revisionists, and the Mizrachi, the party of religious orthodoxy, meant, if it was adhered to, Dr. Weizmann's elimination, probably of his own volition. Contrariwise, had Dr. Weizmann been elected president before the other matter was settled—at a crucial point the Socialist Labor Party, the largest at the Congress, attempted to have the issue of the presidency and the executive dealt with before that of going to London—the passage of a resolution favorable to carrying on negotiations would have followed almost automatically. I could discover no other explanation for the insistence of most of the delegates, at any rate for public purposes, on treating this question of London as the primary one, or for the intransigence shown first by Mr. Ben-Gurion and then by Dr. Silver's American group and the Mizrachi.

But although the clash of personalities may have been a main source of the opinionated bitterness that characterized the Congress, there was another deeper reason—namely, the dilemma in which the political leadership of the Zionist movement now finds itself. If the British government has in fact decided to cut Palestine immigration to the bone, rigidly control land purchases, and exclude all discussion of statehood as a matter of principle, it is evident that the Zionist movement, which since the First World War has developed on the assumption of a continuing collaboration with the mandatory power regardless of any strains and disappointments, must cast about for some radical alternative. However single-minded may be the yearning for Palestine throughout European Jewry, and however strong the support for Zionism throughout world Jewry, the Near East cannot be freed from the pressures of world politics; and if the Zionist leadership regards Palestine as simply one element in the relations of Great Britain,

America, and the Soviet Union, it may have reached a genuine impasse. I think this sense of a really basic frustration in the upper political levels of the Zionist movement caused, first, the crumbling of party lines at the Congress and secondly its angry and impotent bogging down in purely tactical considerations.

If it is a fact that the crisis in Zionism, or at least the crisis in the political direction, is due to external causes, that is, to deteriorating relations with Great Britain, then British behavior during the past few months is especially significant. British spokesmen need only have raised their little finger in the weeks before the Congress to have fortified enormously the position of Dr. Weizmann and the "moderates." The slightest gesture of reconciliation or even of vague good-will would have enabled Weizmann to go before the Congress with some props for his position; as it was, the case his opponents made out for the futility of any further negotiations with the British government was extremely persuasive. As a statement of the "moderate" case, even the extremely lucid and cogent speech of Dr. Goldmann for the executive gave rise to some malaise. What, after all, were they offering? What had they got to show? Dr. Weizmann and his followers were unable to point to any concession made by the Labor government on even the most trivial principle as evidence for the eventual fruitfulness of purely diplomatic bargaining. This was an extraordinarily difficult position to be in, and in the end the battle was lost.

But perhaps it was lost only nominally. For the Con-

gress broke up by transferring the power to elect an executive, and by implication a president, to the Actions Committee, a reduced image of the Congress itself; and as the delegates and visitors, exhausted by an all-night session which dragged on to five o'clock the following afternoon, prepared to leave, it was generally understood that the resolution not to go to London under the "present circumstances," on which so much time, energy, and temper had been expended, was nothing more than a shrewd "twist" to be got round as soon as possible by the Actions Committee. By some ingenious interpretation of the facts, it was expected that this committee would announce a change in the "present circumstances" which would enable the victors at the Congress to go to London after all. The Socialist Labor Party, whose resolution in favor of London was overthrown at the Congress, has nevertheless since then, in the Actions Committee, entered the executive, and it evidently would have done so only with the intention of accomplishing its declared desire for continued negotiation. An executive minus the Labor Party would be paralyzed; and the Labor Party, a vested interest in firm control of all key positions in the Palestinian Jewish economy and administration, cannot afford to fling itself into the abyss of meaningless defiance. In spite of all the hurly-burly at the Congress, Zionist leadership, bludgeoned into submissiveness by the grandiose forces of the epoch, may yet find that Weizmannism, if not Weizmann himself, is the most effective weapon in its arsenal.

Bad News for British Tories

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, January 10

MINISTERS have a prospect of stormy debates and long sittings when Parliament reassembles after the Christmas recess. They are probably not troubled unduly by Mr. Churchill's notice, given in a moment of hot-tempered impetuosity just before Christmas, that he would move a vote of censure on the government for "tyranny, conceit, and incompetence," but they have to face the task of piloting through Parliament several bills which will evoke strenuous attack, of coping with the still unsolved problem of how to bridge the gap in Britain's balance of foreign payments, and of placating the still smoldering "rebellion" against Mr. Bevin's foreign policy.

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Parliament now has before it two voluminous and intricate bills—one nationalizing inland transport, the other giving effect to Labor's election pledge that the power of the state to acquire land for public purposes would be broadened as a step toward the ultimate nationalization of all land. In addition, there will be a bill, probably simpler in its structure, to nationalize the distribution of electricity. In the case of the Transport bill the opposition's line of attack has already been made clear. The Tories have fastened on the clauses which provide that the railways are to be taken over at stock-market valuation and the stockholders given an equivalent nominal sum in government stock. The rate of interest which the government stock will bear has not yet been disclosed, but it is likely to be not more than 2½ per cent. The stockholders will thus suffer a loss not of capital but of income, since current Stock Exchange quotations allow for a large element of risk, including that of nationaliza-

tion, and current yields are much higher than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Here, say the Tories, is sheer confiscation and robbery; and they invoke in support of their case the hardship which will be suffered by charitable trusts, trade unions, and of course the inevitable "widows and pensioners" who hold railway stocks. They will probably succeed in creating in the country a fairly strong impression that the railway stockholders are getting a raw deal, but the government is bound to stand its ground. To base compensation on future "net maintainable income" would require incredibly difficult calculations and the making of arbitrary and in many ways quite unreal assumptions, while stock-market values are a simple and workable basis. Moreover, to buy the stockholders out at prices which would yield current income in perpetuity and without future risk would mean paying for the railways much more than they are worth—having regard, particularly, to the obsolescence of much existing equipment and the need for large new capital investment.

One of the really debatable questions to which the bill gives rise, but which may be overlooked in the hubbub about compensation, is whether nationalization will draw the railway labor unions and the actual railway personnel into sharing some of the functions of management. If nationalization merely substitutes a top deck of bureaucrats for the present boards of directors and gives railwaymen no encouragement to think of the lines as "theirs," the country will hardly get on its railways the contented labor force it needs. There is another possible weakness in the bill. It sets up two executive boards—one to manage the unified railways, and the other for road haulage. The task of planning and coordinating economically rail and road transport—and this is the real case for nationalization—is assigned to a small Transport Commission. Not a few Labor M. P.'s are concerned lest the two executive boards, if they are composed respectively of rail- and road-transport managers only, will become such powerful "vested" departments that the Transport Commission will find it a tough job to "coordinate" them and make them think in terms of transport as a whole rather than of their own particular section of it. During the discussions of the bill in committee attempts will probably be made to amend it by strengthening the Transport Commission and including representatives of outside interests in the two executive boards.

The Town and Country Planning bill will infuriate the Tories even more, not merely because they will consider its compensation provisions inadequate, but because they regard it, with some reason, as a deadly blow to the rights of private property in land. Besides giving local authorities much wider powers, backed with ample financial facilities from the state, to acquire land for development plans—which they are now *compelled* instead of, as hitherto, *permitted* to make—the bill abolishes com-

pletely the right of the landlord to develop his land, or even redevelop it, by building on it or leasing it for building. No land in the future may be developed or redeveloped without the state's permission, and if permission is refused on grounds of public interest or amenity, no compensation will be paid. If permission to develop is granted, the state will then levy a "development

charge," which is likely to range—according to the need to stimulate the entrepreneur—from 75 to 100 per cent of the difference between the land's "existing use" value and the value it will have when it is built or rebuilt on.

From the Socialist point of view this is by no means as satisfactory as nationalization of the land would be. The bill makes an illogical concession to landlordism: it



Prime Minister Attlee

leaves the owner of a piece of land which is not "developed"—in the sense of having new buildings of a different type built on it—but which acquires greater rental value from the construction of a new railway or road to the enjoyment of this unearned increment, a principle which the Uthwatt Report declared to be unjust. Moreover, even the "existing use" value of land is in many cities so high that it is apt to obstruct the planning of a good future lay-out. Still, the sanctity of private property in land is sufficiently undermined to rouse the Land Union and the Federation of Property Owners to fury, and their wrath is unlikely to be appeased by the proposal in the bill that a lump sum, arbitrarily fixed at £300,000,000, is to be distributed among landowners who make good a claim that their land in 1947 had potential development value.

With this controversial legislation on its hands, the government will have to devote more and more of its attention to the general question of the economic situation of Britain in its present halfway stage between private enterprise and a fully planned economy. Exports, after regaining a little more than their 1938 volume, show no signs of reaching soon the target of a 75 per cent quantitative rise above the pre-war level. Shortages of raw materials seem likely to be a serious handicap through 1947; and when these have been overcome, will the present "sellers' market" be over? The dollar loan is being drawn on at a disquieting rate, both for our own needs and those of Germany. In two years' time, especially if 1949 finds the United States in a depression, this country may have real difficulty in meeting its foreign obligations, including those to its large sterling creditors, and at the same time keeping up an acceptably high standard of life. Higher output per man is clearly the

solution, but this is dependent not merely on the will to work but on the mechanical reequipment of British industry. Moreover, it is generally agreed that there is at present a shortage of at least 500,000 men in civilian industries. This means that demobilization of the armed forces must be speeded up; we cannot afford to keep more than 1,500,000 men unproductively employed in the services and another 500,000 making munitions for them.

But how can this reduction in the strength of the armed forces be effected without lightening our military commitments abroad, particularly in the Middle East? From this question the transition is swift to criticism of foreign policy. The real strength of the "rebels'" case is economic rather than political, and if, as most observers expect, the "rebellion" breaks out again during the coming parliamentary session, it will be inspired by the conviction not so much that the Foreign Secretary is "anti-Communist" or is courting the risk of a third world war as that his "tough" policy has to be supported, if it is to make sense, by a draft on Britain's man-power which the country cannot afford.

The rebels themselves are by no means a homogeneous body. There is a left wing, of which the most important figure is Zilliacus, which attacks Bevin for prejudic-

ing European reconstruction and forfeiting friendships which Britain needs by refusing to collaborate on close terms with the U. S. S. R. and the Communist parties on the Continent. And there is a larger, more influential right wing, which includes Crossman and Michael Foot among the intellectuals and a considerable number of trade-union M. P.'s who have no fondness for Communist parties and are dyed-in-the-wool Social Democrats. Their case against Bevin is that Britain is failing to occupy the position of mediator between unbridled American enterprise and totalitarian planning *à la Russe*. They argued during the debate before the recess that Britain was becoming dangerously tied to American imperialism and forfeiting its independence in foreign policy. News published during the recess of the link-up between the R. A. F. and the United States Air Force and the Anglo-American oil agreement in the Middle East will give them fresh ammunition. But whatever the parliamentary rebels do or say, the really important factor in the situation which the government will face is the growing feeling throughout the country that unless Britain's military coat is cut according to the very limited cloth of its man-power, the whole of our planned program of post-war reconstruction on semi-Socialist lines may be endangered.

We Need More Steel Mills!

BY BRYANT PUTNEY

Washington, January 17

DESPITE its war-time expansion America's industrial plant is too small to meet the immense demands of a full-employment economy. More blast furnaces and power-houses must be built, more steel mills; new mines must be opened. Unless we enlarge our plant capacity, we cannot keep a growing labor force at work or raise the national output high enough to combat inflation and insure real prosperity.

The enormous demand for consumer goods today is the result partly of short-term factors such as the sudden impact of war-deferred demands but chiefly of full employment. With many more millions now at work than at any other time in our history, all previous yardsticks of consumption are obsolete. We need more steel than the record tonnages turned out during the war. We need more oil and gasoline, more electric power, more copper and zinc and coal than we have ever produced before.

How much of each of these things we must have is

indicated in a study just completed by the United States Department of Labor. The facts assembled, together with evidence from other sources, effectively explode the myth that war-time expansion created a vast amount of excess plant capacity. They show, on the contrary, that expenditures for new plant and equipment must be stepped up far beyond anything now contemplated by industry.

In calculating the volume of materials, goods, and services required to support full employment in 1950, the Labor Department analysts have assumed a labor force of 62,500,000 people (59,000,000 in civilian jobs, 1,500,000 in the armed forces, and 2,000,000 in transitional unemployment), with production geared to a forty-hour work week and a rate of output 25 to 30 per cent higher than in 1939 (because of the 3 per cent average yearly rise in the productivity of labor and machinery). We shall then need 98 to 120 million tons of ingot steel, as compared to the previous peak output of 89.2 million in 1944; 2.6 billion barrels of crude petroleum, as compared to the 1944 output—the peak since 1919—of 1.7 billion; 237 to 250 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power, as compared to the peak output of 228 billion in 1944; 47 to 64 billion board feet of lumber, as com-

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pared to the peak production of 41 billion in 1925; 24 million tons of paper and paperboard products, as compared to the peak output of 17 million in 1941; 81 to 95 million tons of coke, as compared to the peak output of 74 million in 1944; 1,182 to 1,236 million barrels of gasoline, as compared to the peak production of 723 million in 1944.

The figures cited here are samples. The requirements estimated for many other industries, including retail and service trades, are also well above present plant capacity. Forecasts of the needed agricultural output are equally startling. By 1950 between 20 and 30 per cent more farm products, in addition to the war-time increase of 25 per cent, will be required. The only important exception is railroads, where a reduction from war-time peak volumes of revenue ton miles and passenger miles is predicted—mainly because of the elimination of the abnormal hauls demanded by the war in the Pacific.

The Labor Department's figures are matched or exceeded by the forecasts of other analysts. The Westinghouse Company estimates the demand for electric power three years hence at between 230 and 270 billion kilowatt-hours—a considerably higher maximum figure than that of the Labor Department. Last November John D. Small, then Civilian Production Administrator, told a group of industrialists that "by 1950 we will need steel-ingot production of from 90 to 100 million tons a year." He pointed out that "currently we are producing steel at a rate of about 80 million tons a year, and are operating the mills at practical capacity—a little over 90 per cent of theoretical capacity." Although the CPA estimates were lower than those of the Labor Department, they were high enough to make a conservative business man like Small wonder "whether we will have the steel capacity we will probably need to support a full-employment and full-production economy in 1950." Similarly, *Business Week* analysts, although eschewing precise totals, say that "if full employment continues, the steel shortage is likely to get worse rather than better after the middle of 1947"—though nearly all planned additions to plant capacity will have been completed by that time.

The steel outlook is, in fact, one of the gravest in the economic picture. For many months the shortage has been acting as a brake on general industrial activity. Henry Kaiser had to buy an Ohio rolling mill to get sheet steel for automobiles, thus preventing someone else from making vacuum cleaners or washing machines.

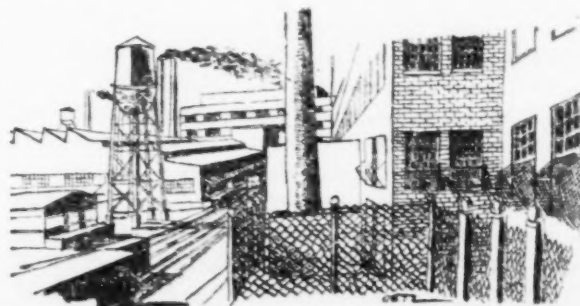
What is not generally realized is that more steel goes into a dollar's worth of peace-time goods than into armament. And the same thing is true of many other materials. Anti-aircraft guns, airplane engines, and other munitions require more labor for each ton of steel than rails, tin cans, and refrigerators. That is why steel consumption in the automotive plants declined during the war while employment rose more than 50 per cent.

Steelmaking capacity today is considerably smaller than it was on V-J Day. Between 1940 and 1945 our capacity for steel-ingot production rose from 81.6 to 95.5 million tons a year—an increase of 17 per cent. Since the end of the war it has dropped to 91.9 million tons—only 11 per cent above the pre-war level—as a result of the retirement of obsolescent plants and the shutdown of government-built plants producing specialized items like armor plate. Plant expansion will add 2.5 million tons in 1947, but this new construction is largely limited to finishing mills, which will turn out such specific products as sheet and strip. Practically no new ingot capacity is scheduled. Yet the failure to expand raw-steel production will deeply affect the whole economy by holding down plant expansion in other industries.

Despite protests from the automobile industry and producers of other consumer goods, the steelmakers are drafting no plans for plant expansion in the years ahead. Instead, their apologists are assiduously propagating the notion that the present demand is "abnormal," that shortages are due exclusively to strikes and various short-term influences. Their refusal, and that of the little group of men who control most of our other basic industries, to invest money in new plant stems from the traditional belief of big business in scarcity economics, from fear that expansion might jeopardize the dominance of the big companies, and above all from a lack of confidence in the dynamic qualities of capitalism. But whatever the causes of industry's sitdown strike against plant expansion, its results can clearly be foreseen.

Continuing shortages will lead to price rises which by reducing the ability of people to buy will cut demand and thus bring it into balance with supply—at the expense of those whose need is greatest. (This will give dubious justification to the contention that present demand is "abnormal.") Unemployment will ultimately rise to a level—perhaps eight or ten million—which corresponds roughly to the shortage of basic materials.

Although the full development of this cycle may be many months away, its beginnings are already discernible in the upward price trends of the last few months. As one Washington economist puts it: "It is as if we were witnessing the slow self-strangulation of the private-enterprise system."



The People's Front

AS I leave for Europe on another reporting assignment for *The Nation*, the thing that stands most sharply in my mind is the importance of making Americans realize that they can no longer interpret world events exclusively in terms of their own country's traditions. Since the liberation, Europe's intellectuals and political leaders and journalists have been engaged in a continuing provocative discussion of whether the old political conception of democracy still makes sense in view of the lessons of World War II. But the press reported no similar discussion of this question at the meetings held recently by two groups of American progressives. Perhaps that explains in part the misunderstandings that somehow constantly arise between the United States and the old Continent. In a corridor at Lake Success I heard a European delegate to the General Assembly exclaim with some irritation: "But it is amazing! These Americans don't seem to understand what is happening outside their country."

In Europe today the new revolutionary criteria of a regime's democracy are, first of all, economic and social justice—an ability to break the hold of feudalism and monopoly capital and to solve the problems of hunger and industrial collapse. This marks the coming of age of the European masses and in a certain sense the triumph of the Marxist doctrine that true democracy can only be achieved by a radical change in the economic structure.

Proponents of these ideas do not question the good faith of old-school liberals who resist any infringement of individual prerogatives and democratic safeguards, but rather the validity of their whole approach. The impact of fascism and war, they argue, revealed the utter bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy; now Europe must pass to a stage of "mass democracy," *démocratie massive*.

Thus for many left Europeans—Socialists, some Radicals, and even progressive Catholics—the test of a democracy is not so much a multi-party electoral system or a pillared Hall of Justice with the words "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality" cut into the portico; rather it is nationalization of the banks, agrarian reform, participation of the workers in the direction of the nation's economic and political life.

Even the classic concept of good sportsmanship between political opponents has undergone a transformation. The days of calling adversaries by their first names and shaking hands with the leaders of the anti-democratic cabal are over. For the left has learned that those on whom reaction smiles one day, it is apt to send to a concentration camp the next.

The left in Europe no longer believes that *le droit de dialoguer* is the supreme expression of democracy. The right of debate played a historic role as a counterpoise to the sectarian fanaticism that followed the abortive revolutions of 1848. Now dialectics shares a place with debate in the thinking of the young radicals who are determined to overcome the obstacles that stand in the way of economic democracy.

Nor do they have their fathers' unquestioning faith in the old parliamentary system. In France universal suffrage, long considered one of the glories of the Third Republic, has been criticized since the liberation as inadequate by itself. The reforms adopted by the Constituent Assembly in 1945 represented a step forward, but many Frenchmen still feel that the new system, which provides for elections at four-year intervals, does not allow sufficient popular control of the elected representatives. In France, as elsewhere in Europe, the masses are pushing toward more direct participation in the conduct of public affairs. They want to have a more effective continuing voice in government. They want to "be present." That is why the trade unions, such as the C. G. T. in France, have become a more decisive factor in the political life of Europe and constitute a kind of unofficial parliament.

The differences between the American and European interpretations of democracy become more striking as one moves eastward. The people of Eastern Europe and the Balkan states are not impressed by the Anglo-American brand of democracy. For in almost all these countries pre-war experience with Western democracy ended in failure; they succeeded neither in raising the living standards of the very poor nor in limiting the economic and political power of the rich. Elections, even if based on universal suffrage, made no difference in the all but universal poverty. As one British writer, C. G. Logio, recently observed: "If bolshevism cannot improve their situation, neither can it make it worse." To Eastern Europeans the economic reforms instituted by their new regimes have far more meaning than the eloquent pleas of Western diplomats for free elections.

Of course, there are aspects of the revolution in Eastern Europe that must appall a person imbued with the ideals—whatever their limitations in practice—of Western democracy. It would distort the facts to present the situation there as a model of the kind of world in which one would want to live. To me the most repulsive thing is to see people whom I have long known as fascists playing important roles in all the popular fronts while some of the best anti-fascists are banned from public life. But you cannot judge accurately the total effect of a historical development of such magnitude by concentrating on specific aspects, no matter how much they are to be condemned. The real question is whether or not Balkan Europe, under the new conception of democracy that is emerging from the revolution now in progress, becomes a better place for the masses of men and women than under the pseudo-parliamentary democracy of previous days. The facts on which to base such a judgment may not be available for some years.

DEL VAYO

[*The People's Front* will be omitted from the next issue and for the rest of the time that Mr. del Vayo is in Europe. But he will soon begin to send in reports on current social and political developments in France and other European countries.]

Sweden: Still the Middle Way

BY ROBERT HARVEY

Stockholm, January 2

WINTER came early to Stockholm this year. It arrived during the next-to-last week in October, when the bright, crisp autumn weather that had followed September rains suddenly dissolved into two days of snow. Afterward great stacks of cordwood multiplied like mushrooms in streets and alleyways all over the city. One woke in the morning and went to sleep at night to the whine of machine saws at work.

People probably were right to prepare early for the winter of 1946-47. It may prove to be one of the most critical winters the country has faced in more than a century.

But whatever period of travail Sweden may be entering, it is not threatened with cold and hunger and want as are other parts of Europe. Food is strictly rationed, but the people have plenty to eat. Fuel is perilously short, but no one will freeze. There are no unemployed—on the contrary, an average of only 82 statistical job-hunters apply for every 100 jobs offered. The Swedish people have apparently an infinite store of common sense, patience, and strength. The impression one gets everywhere, from the farmers' market in Göteborg to the government buildings in Stockholm and across all the tidy little farms and industrial towns in between, is one of people tending to their business. The restaurants and theaters and night clubs are gay without being hysterical; the shop windows are full for Christmas; nothing but the American coal strike and a mysterious Saturday-night dynamiter received a better press than the Norrköping soccer team's victorious tour in England. Swedish life has the same placid surface that it has had for many years.

But beneath the surface Sweden's economy is stretched as taut as a bowstring. Its industries are committed to a staggering program of production and export despite critical shortages of materials and man-power. Its chief weapon in foreign trade, the produce of its vast forest lands, is being fed into fuel-hungry furnaces at home. The nine million tons of coal and coke from abroad which are the straw for Swedish industrial bricks are not to be had. The state treasury, carrying a record national debt from the war years and planning record ex-

penditures during the next decade, is lending a good sixth of the national income to foreign countries to finance a post-war trade and aid Europe's reconstruction. The price index, despite rigid price control, is nudging the point where automatic wage increases will go into effect. Swedish employers and labor representatives have begun negotiating their annual contracts, and the 1946 negotiations promise to be bitterly contested; further additions to wages that are at the highest money level—though not real-income level—of all time are almost inevitable. Finance Minister Ernest Wigforss is beset with overwhelming demands for tax relief which would knock a half-billion kronor off urgently needed state revenues. There is an acute housing shortage, there is a plethora of money, there is a shortage of many consumer goods. There is, in short, every necessary ingredient for a first-rate inflationary explosion.

What gives a special significance to such a situation is, first, the fact that upon this load of dynamite is riding one of the most comprehensive programs of social planning that has ever been coupled with a basically private-enterprise economy and a thoroughly democratic—by any definition you choose to give the word—political system. The success, whole or partial, of the present Social Democratic government in coping with present difficulties will mean a great deal to the future social health of Sweden, and, by example, to the rest of the world. And second, though any comparison between such a small and tightly knit country and a giant, sprawling one cannot be very accurate, there is an intriguing parallel between Sweden and the United States today. Faced with very similar problems, Sweden has chosen, though not without dissenting voices, to stick by government control and planning to tide it through its time of crisis.

Sweden's plans and Sweden's troubles are thus worth a close examination during the next years. In a world divided into a free-for-all contest between left and right, this isolated little corner of Europe has chosen a course that puts almost all the components of modern liberalism at stake. Internally and externally its "middle way" is subjected to terrific pressures and pulls from both sides. The burning question in Sweden today is whether those forces can be resisted, forces that operate to drive it toward a more rigid, more arbitrarily class-conscious and perhaps less democratic society on the one hand and on the other toward an alignment with a free-swinging Western capitalism. Its fate can almost be con-

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sidered a test of whether or not chaos and collectivism will be the only alternatives in the last half of the twentieth century.

The position in which World War II placed Sweden was the beginning of its post-war crisis. The immediate injury was the disruption of foreign trade. More than half of Sweden's normal coal supply lay in England on the other side of a shipping blockade. Its pre-war sources of worked iron were scattered all over the globe and like coal and coke and other materials were being diverted to the military needs of the belligerents. Its access to petroleum, rubber, many minerals, fertilizers, fodder, textiles, and food imports became precarious. It needed such goods for two purposes—to maintain minimum levels of consumer goods and industrial production, and to arm itself against the threat of military attack. The result was a heavy increase in trade with Germany to the point where during one period of the war the Third Reich was supplying 54 per cent of Swedish imports.

Food rationing came with the drop in imports of fats, fodder, and fertilizer, and with successive poor harvests in 1940 and 1941. During most of the period between June, 1942, and August, 1945, twenty-two items were on the ration list, if you include a few inedible ones like soap, candles, and tobacco.

Price control was clamped on most goods, but not effectively until after steep living-cost rises had already taken place. Thus although the official index has been held fairly stable since 1943—food and rent in particular have been kept in close check throughout the war—it now stands at about 243, with July, 1914, levels as 100. This represents a rise of about 50 per cent from October, 1939, but a climb of only 4 points from the level of 239 reached at the end of 1942. The apparent stability is to some extent theoretical; living costs actually have risen more than the index reveals, largely because of the disappearance of cheaper goods from the market and reduced consumption; and the labor unions are now



asking compensation for further cost-of-living increases which actually do not show up on the index.

In the broad view, then, Sweden built up during the war to an economic situation in many ways similar to that of the United States. There exists now a heavy backlog of purchasing power and consumer demand, an unprecedented investment activity, particularly in the building industry, and marked shortages. Unlike the United States, however, Sweden's return to any semblance of stability is primarily dependent on its capacity to import as it did before the war. Unlike the United States, its labor shortage is due as much to a long-range population trend, which must be countered in terms of increased industrial productivity, as to a war-time distortion. And unlike the United States, Sweden has chosen not to abandon its war-time—and pre-war—controls.

There is little hint of tension or developing crisis among the streets and plentiful parks of Stockholm. The life of the city, like life all over Sweden, is made up of comfortable, everyday details—not of trends and statistical tables. The trolleys are a little more crowded, perhaps, than before, but both they and the trim little electric trains still run punctually on the dot. You can have your choice of American, English, French, Russian, and Swedish movies. Opera is given daily, as well as concerts, plays, and a score of art shows. For the first time since 1939 candles were not rationed for Lucia Day festivities, and cities and towns and offices all over the country chose their "Lucias" to wear the white robe and crown of candles in ceremonies celebrating this national holiday that betokens the coming of more light. Restaurants are still limited in the size of their smörgåsbord, but the meals they serve are big and good, and for the most part inexpensive. Food-rationing holds in the restaurants as well as in the market—eating places issue restaurant cards against household ration coupons—a system which has been a big factor in the success of Sweden's rationing system and in minimizing the threat of a black market. There is a black market here, by the way, but not a considerable one. The heaviest illegal traffic is probably in meat and is estimated to amount, in value, to about 10 per cent of the legal market; the literal-minded Swedes keep careful statistics even on the black market—chiefly, a rationing official delightedly explained to me, by a close comparison of figures on the sale of hides and on the sale of carcasses through legal channels.

Stockholm workmen are earning an average of between 125 and 150 kronor a week—about \$34 to \$41. Milk costs about 9 cents a quart, butter about 55 cents a pound, white bread about 12 cents a loaf, prime beef about 45 cents a pound. Fifty to seventy-five cents will buy a good meal in any of the smaller restaurants. Clothing prices run relatively higher on the whole, and are much on a par with American ones, though I have seen

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plenty of ready-made suits of seemingly good quality selling for the equivalent of \$30 or \$40. Rents are harder to picture accurately, because the housing shortage is such that one has to take what one can get, and the lower-priced apartments are practically impossible to find. The figures, however, show that the average rental for an unfurnished three-room-and-kitchen apartment is about \$65 a month. The co-ops are much cheaper, but centrally located furnished flats command much more. All these figures are for Stockholm only: wages are lower in all other sections of the country, but the relationship of wages to local prices is about the same everywhere.

Heat and warm water still have to be doled out carefully, but there is no longer heat rationing. The use of fuel oil for heating has increased steeply—plans are in the works for a pipe line from the port of Göteborg through central Sweden to Stockholm. The coal supply, after dropping to almost nothing in the months just before and after the armistice, has gradually come back

to its war-time average and is showing signs of improvement. Home fuel prices, unlike the cost of industrial fuel, have been kept fairly stable.

Books, native and translations, come off the presses in a steady stream, and magazine kiosks are jammed with scores of excellent Swedish periodicals. *Expressen*, one of the city's ten or a dozen major dailies, is adding Li'l Abner to its stable of comic strips. The technical and scientific schools are full to overflowing. The ski inns are booked solid through April.

Stockholm is a deceptive city. There is a surface polish of "Americanism" that makes a United States visitor feel at home, but roots deep in the Scandinavian past give the city its character. There is a strong sense of continuity in Sweden, an inherent calm, a distrust of rapid change. The Swedes' devotion to their "middle way"—to the rational and practical and just approach—is real and lasting. But the "middle way" is coming in for a time of severe trial.

"The Conference of the Excluded"

BY WILBUR H. BALDINGER

Washington, January 18

THE powerful Negro share-cropper, a delegate from the cotton country of Crittenden County, Arkansas, couldn't read or write, but he did think and talk. Six feet four, 240 pounds, he got the floor at the convention of the National Farm Labor Union, A. F. of L., and made a speech.

"I caught ahold of the union thirteen years ago," he said in a voice that rumbled up from his shoes, "and I ain't gonna let it go. It looks to me like this convention is a shattering of a new day."

The Reverend W. H. Wilburn, local president at Lake Village, Arkansas, said with prayerful fervor, "I hope the Lord will bless my tongue so that when I get back I will be able to tell the people just a little bit about what I've seen and heard."

All the intensity and consecration but little of the sham of a revival meeting appeared at this unique union's convention in the A. B. Pugh Bible Class room in the low-ceilinged basement of Washington's pillared Mt. Vernon Place Methodist Church, which was borrowed for the three-day "Conference of the Excluded." Representing more than 30,000 dues-paying members on a family basis (\$4 a year), but lacking any legal bargaining privileges, the union resolved that some 4,000,000 American share-croppers and field workers were entitled to their dignity and their rights and to hope for some measure of security, such as federal old-age and health

insurance and federal-state unemployment compensation.

Wearing faded store clothes, clinging to jalopies, riding buses, the 102 delegates came in from Mississippi, Missouri, Texas, Alabama, New Mexico, Arkansas, Tennessee, even New Jersey. Church box supporters had helped raise money for expenses. The women in Local 13 at Oak Grove, Arkansas, had peddled catfish sandwiches for a dime apiece in order to send a representative. J. F. Hynds, seventy-five, was in from Spruce Pine, Alabama, where he runs the union's co-op store. He filed a proud report that the store was started in 1943 with a capital-stock investment of \$334, and that it now had \$412.63 in the bank and \$173.49 in the cash drawer, in addition to goods on the shelves worth \$2,531.02. A Negro delegate, praising the work of his white union brother, said the co-op store was an example of how when everybody co-opped together, they could get somewhere.

The applauding convention voted Delegate Hynds a life membership in the National Farm Labor Union, an honor which was almost more than he could bear. "You have thrown the harness over me for the rest of my life," he said. "I've been sick in my bed, but as long as my tongue doesn't get paralyzed, wheel me down to the courthouse and I'll cry out against injustice."

This was the first convention of the organization—formerly the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union—under an A. F. of L. charter, which was issued last August, but the thirteenth since a group of share-croppers met at

Tyronza, Arkansas, in 1934 and elected big, slow-talking H. L. Mitchell president of a union of farm workers.

A. F. of L. President William Green promised that 7,000,000 other union members would back the N. F. L. U. in its struggle upward from peonage. Senator George D. Aiken, Republican liberal from Vermont, was a statesman to look at and listen to. The delegates responded with church-like "That's right!" and "Amen!" when Gardner Jackson, former New Deal administrator in the Department of Agriculture, warned that mechanization of United States farms was bringing on a displaced-persons problem in the South for which the nation was not prepared. "Unless the organization drive you are undertaking, backed by the A. F. of L., succeeds, hundreds of thousands of you people and your families are likely to be forced out of your homes into a wandering army seeking livelihoods in an industrial labor market without a chance for proper training for the change," Jackson said.

It was an encouraging and gratifying thing for the delegates to be assured that important people were worrying about the woes the union members had been talking about and working against in the meeting halls—usually crossroads Baptist and Methodist churches—and fields back home. But it was even more important to know that the union itself, offering no more than bare hope to its dues-payers, was growing and developing. This was something that the share-croppers and field hands were doing themselves. Last year nineteen new locals were set up, and 3,000 new members went on the N. F. L. U. rolls at Memphis headquarters. The submerged and silent poor whites and blacks in the South were becoming articulate on their own account, through their own union. The ambitious union goal last year was for an annual wage of \$625 for farm workers.

Another important thing was that Southern Negro and white soil-tillers were sitting down together in the conference with easy and unself-conscious equality—more than half of the delegates were Negro. This atmosphere was in itself a tremendous testament to the union's influence in the South, where a feeling of superiority over Negroes often has been the only thing sustaining white share-croppers' self-respect. The Ku Klux Klan was loathed by all present; N. F. L. U. members at the same time were sufficiently sophisticated politically to recognize and reject Communist Party infiltration, which had plagued the union in its formative years.

President Mitchell continues to be the share-croppers' Moses in their tortuous trek toward the half-promised land of the Wagner, Wage-Hour, and Social Security acts. Equally venerated by members is the union's vice-president, F. R. Betton, a sixty-year-old, white-thatched Negro who settled at Cotton Plant, Arkansas, after the KKK chased him out of Georgia. He owns his farm, has put eight of his eleven children through school, and for

twenty-three years was the only Negro justice of the peace in Arkansas.

The director of organization, who has been at work for the past year, is Captain Barney Taylor, who lost an eye in Normandy and won the Distinguished Service Cross. Before he joined the army Terry was international representative of the American Newspaper Guild, for Southern organization. He is paid \$200 a month by the N. F. L. U. The president gets \$3,600 a year.

The National Farm Labor Union has been and will be something to watch. Nothing gives more hope for the regeneration of the South. Its potential membership is more than 4,000,000. If that potential is ever reached, one of its songs will be sung triumphantly instead of defiantly:

We won't budge until we conquer
We will stand until we conquer
We will fight until we conquer,
Workers in the field.

In the Wind

RIFFLING THROUGH wire desk-baskets, the Wind has been culling the morning mail recently. A great many people, it finds, take a lot for granted when they address words to *The Nation*. There is Milton M. Enzer for one, a public-relations assistant to W. Gibson Carey, Jr., of Yale and Towne. In speaking of his boss Mr. Enzer is prone to generalities like this: "Mr. Carey, as you probably recall, is a former president of the Chamber of Commerce. . . ." Mr. Enzer, you should live that long. . . .

THEN THERE'S the C. of C. itself, blithely sending along one of its pamphlets in which the following nugget is buried: "Periodicals such as *The Nation* . . . enjoyed almost a sacrosanct status among many government officials. These publications . . . were pro-Soviet. . . ."

NOT TO BE OUTDONE, *The Nation's* own regular clipping service weighs in with a tear-sheet of the December *Manufacturer's Record*, quoting Victor Kravchenko on the subject of "pro-Soviet weeklies like *The Nation*."

NOW A BOOKLET from the Foundation for Economic education: "*Briefly—So You Believe in Rent Control?*" It comprises, briefly, fifteen pages informing the world that rent control is a form of stealing.

ON ANOTHER desk top the Wind uncovers a statement by Charles T. Stewart, public-relations director of the National Association of Real Estate Boards. While deploring public housing, Mr. Stewart has discovered that "there are families who need help to get decent housing." "The satisfying of that need," he adds, "is the practice of charity . . . which many of us have always believed to be a virtue." Sure, 'tis a fine brave thing of you to say so, Mr. Stewart.

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Famine and Surplus

THIS year we in America can look forward to a more varied and abundant diet than ever. Supplies of most foods are ample, the chief exception being sugar, and there are signs of a downward trend in prices. During the current food year, which ends in June, our consumption per head will be well above the pre-war level—a reflection, of course, not only of enlarged supplies but of full employment and increased purchasing power. We share this good fortune with a number of other food-exporting countries, but a recently published report of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the U. N. tells me: "A major food crisis still confronts the world. Over wide areas of China famine conditions have prevailed for many months. Many people in Europe are living on a diet of 1,500 calories or less, and the European situation will deteriorate sharply in the spring, since in several countries domestic food supplies will become exhausted."

These facts are confirmed by the Department of Agriculture's Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, which reported in a recent statement that for a large part of continental Europe the food outlook for the first six months of this year was just as serious as a year ago. In nine countries rations for the non-farm population amount to 2,000 calories or less daily. "Such consumption levels," the statement declares, "are insufficient to maintain a population year after year, to say nothing of rehabilitating lost body weight and capacity to work."

The F. A. O. report provides some particulars of the consequences of widespread malnutrition—lowered resistance to disease in general, the spread of scourges such as tuberculosis, the increase of infant mortality, which in Yugoslavia, for instance, is said to be 370 per 1,000 live births. In North China, according to a survey made last year, calory intake in some districts was under 500 per head, with people eating grass and weeds. In one area 32 per cent of the population was suffering from famine oedema, a condition in which the limbs and body become horribly bloated. "Malaria is endemic both in Kwangsi and Honan," this survey declared, "and relapsing fever, dysentery, some cholera, and many other diseases are present. Weakened by hunger, these malnourished people are subject to any infection."

But while the specter of starvation haunts large parts of Europe and Asia, in America, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, "the specter of a wheat surplus in 1947 worries Washington officials." Favorable weather conditions promise another bumper crop of winter wheat, with the result that July (new crop) wheat has recently been quoted in the futures market at \$1.80 a bushel, nearly 40 cents below the current cash price. A fall in value of this magnitude will force the government to support the market on a large scale to keep the price of wheat at 90 per cent of parity in

conformity with the Steagall amendment of the Price Control Act of 1942. Nor is wheat the only farm product likely to qualify for similar support. Last year the government spent something like \$80,000,000 to shore up the collapsed potato market. Eggs and sorghums are now at or below the 90 per cent of parity level; barley, corn, and peanuts are getting within hailing distance, and before the end of the year they could be joined by cotton and burley tobacco. "Uncle Sam," said the *Wall Street Journal* of December 27, 1946, "faces billion-dollar losses as growers step up output despite falling prices. . . . Wheat alone could run to \$500,000,000 next year. Agricultural officials see production limits as the only safeguard."

Is this really the only way of coping with the problem of American overabundance? Cannot this corpulent ghost that haunts Washington be confronted with the lean ghost of hunger which roams the world, with a view to mutual exorcism? That idea was the essence of the plan presented to the F. A. O. by its director, Sir John Orr, who wanted to build an ever-normal granary for the world so that the fear of plenty and the fear of want might both be banished. But the United States government objected; the scheme threatened to interfere with the freedom of private trading. It was Washington also that played a major part in the decision to discontinue UNRRA and that squelched LaGuardia's alternative proposal of an Emergency Food Fund. Henceforth international relief is to be on a bilateral basis, with those nations in a position to afford aid to others to decide for themselves to whom it shall be given and on what terms.

The role of the United Nations is now reduced to sponsorship of a special technical committee on relief needs, which will report to member governments. This committee has already heard pleas from twelve nations, and an unofficial check indicates that five of these together—Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and China—estimate emergency food requirements in the coming year at \$500,000,000. Specific figures from the other seven—Italy, Hungary, Austria, Finland, Ethiopia, Korea, and the Philippines—are not yet forthcoming, but they are expected to bring the grand total to at least \$1,000,000,000.

In his budget message last week President Truman asked Congress to appropriate \$305,000,000 for international relief, and in addition some Export-Import credits may be made available for food loans. But there is no means of telling what American assistance those hungry countries deemed to be deserving may count on until the dominant Republicans have finished their budget-shaving operations. It is to be hoped that while engaged on this task they will consider international relief in relation to the coming farm-surplus problem. Otherwise they may find themselves in the fatuous position of saving on one section of the budget only to insure the necessity of later additions to another. The stringent limitation of gifts and loans for food purchases by foreign countries may well mean greatly increased expenditures for the support of farm prices. The government in effect will continue to buy food, but instead of shipping it to hungry people will pile it up in warehouses, where it is likely to stay until it rots. Will the American people indorse this kind of "economy," or will they insist that the proper way to appease the specter of surplus food is to banish the specter of want?

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

BEHIND the current G. O. P. drive to name Marion Martin, former executive of the Republican National Committee, to the Federal Communications Commission is the Republican Party's yen to induce the commission to abandon its public-service standards and return to the political-fix mode of operation, with all the plunderbund overtones characteristic of the technique.

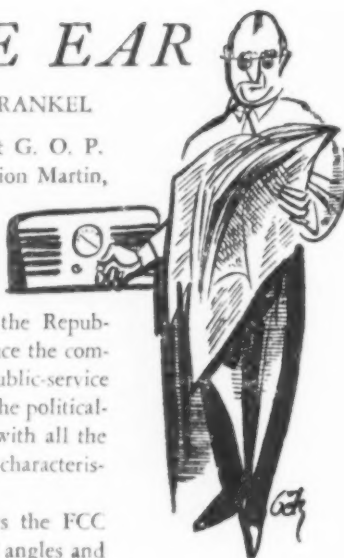
For the last ten years the FCC has ignored the political angles and made its decisions on social, economic, and technical grounds. But the Republicans want an FCC that will bow to political exigencies. Of course the Democrats wanted much the same thing, but they couldn't get it during the life of F. D. R. because the late President recognized the social and propaganda importance of broadcasting and gave the commission strong chairmen.

Today with both big business, in the guise of the advertisers, and the broadcasters looking for ways and means of clipping the FCC for the attitude it took toward radio in its "Blue Book," the G. O. P. scents an opportunity to strike a blow for "less government regulation and more free enterprise." The dollar politicians of both parties would like to see radio run by the business men of the nation and "to hell with this public-service drive!" And the old wheelhorses would like to make certain that elections are not won on the air, as they were by F. D. R., but in the press.

To accomplish its ends the G. O. P. realizes it will need a complaisant commission. For this reason both Rosel Hyde and Ray C. Wakefield, the Republican incumbents, are under fire as "not real Republicans," meaning, of course, that they do not respond to the efforts of political fixers. The G. O. P. wants to put a stooge on the commission who will do nothing but consider the political qualifications of applicants.

With the Republicans exerting pressure in favor of Miss Martin, the few persons in radio who realize the implications of what the G. O. P. wants and the adverse effect this will have on radio are plugging for James M. Mead, the ex-Senator from New York. But they are worried lest Mead take the Postmaster-Generalship.

The FCC consists of six commissioners and a chairman, appointed by the President for seven-year terms with tenure so staggered that a new appointment is due each year. No political party is to have more than four members. Currently the commission is staffed with three Democrats, two Republicans, and one independent; the vacancy caused by Paul Porter's resignation is still unfilled. Though Porter was a Democrat, the G. O. P. claims the appointment with the argument of "we are now the majority party and entitled to equal representation." The present line-up is as follows:



Ray C. Wakefield, Republican, lawyer, expert on utilities, in bad with the G. O. P. machine for not recognizing political pressures, votes like a right-wing liberal; term expires in 1947.

Clifford J. Durr, Democrat, lawyer with knowledge of utilities, the one true progressive on the commission; term expires in 1948.

The appointment to Paul Porter's place will run until 1949. E. K. Jett, independent, engineer, votes ultra-conservative; term expires in 1950.

Charles R. Denny, Democrat, came up from the legal ranks of the commission to become its chairman, votes down the middle; term expires in 1951.

Rosel Hyde, Republican, started with the commission as a messenger, became a lawyer on its staff, votes like a liberal and is in disfavor with the G. O. P.; term expires in 1952.

Paul A. Walker, Democrat, lawyer, knowledge of utilities, especially telephone, votes liberal; term expires in 1953.

Thus on their voting records the commissioners break down into one arch-conservative, one genuine progressive, one middle-of-the-roader, and three right-wing liberals. This make-up gives the commission a liberal flavor and inclines it to stress the public good rather than political advantage.

The most imminent danger is that Truman will allow the G. O. P. to fill the Porter vacancy. But the situation will again be critical when Wakefield comes up for reappointment in 1947 and Durr in 1948. Though Wakefield is a Republican, the G. O. P. will not want him on the FCC unless he sees the light. Durr, a Democrat, has come a long way since he was an attorney for the Commonwealth and Southern, and has the entire industry gunning for him; the Democrats therefore will put up no fight to keep him.

That the present FCC does not think along political lines is shown by several recent incidents. There was the G. O. P. rap at Wakefield and Hyde. Then Senator MacKellar blasted the commission for this very non-political thinking. There was also the famous fracas between the FCC and Congressman Eugene Cox, and more recently the denial of a license to Bob Kerr, former Governor of Oklahoma and keynoter of the 1944 Democratic convention. If ever politics was going to get someone a license, it was when Kerr applied for a station in Peoria, Illinois. But it didn't work.

The big stick in the Republicans' hands is the threat of a Congressional investigation of the FCC. Some trade prophets say the G. O. P. will agree to call off the investigation in return for the appointment of Marion Martin. Others think the G. O. P. will get the appointment and the investigation also. Still others think the G. O. P. will do without the investigation simply to please the big radio-equipment manufacturers—Westinghouse, Philco, G. E., R. C. A.—who want the FCC in session to settle the future of television and other disputed questions so that they can do business. If the commission is being put over the hurdles on the Hill, they will have to mark time.

The FCC is probed each year at budget time by both House and Senate, and all anyone has been able to say is that it does a splendid job of serving the listener. Yet unless President Truman fights to keep greedy political hands off it, the commercial radio interests are going to have a walk-over and the "good radio" people will be nowhere.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

When There Is a Tolstoy

LEO *TOLSTOY*. By Ernest Simmons. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. \$5.

MR. SIMMONS'S new biography of Tolstoy puts a great deal of material in good order; perhaps as much material as any American will ever need—except a full edition of the letters—in supplement to Tolstoy's own works. The book is written with reserve, care, and out of an almost anonymous sensibility; it assumes greatness in Tolstoy's works and it displays a good deal of the complexity and stress in Tolstoy's life; it makes few interpretations and forces no conclusions. The shape of the book is chronological and factual; it tells what happened when. It is also a warm book. To those who read biography for amorphous pleasure and to smull the habits of men, the book should be interesting enough to reread. But much more than that, the rich material Mr. Simmons presents—much of it new—should be permanently useful to critical students of Tolstoy from several points of view. This is exactly what books of this kind ought to be, and we should be very grateful for the skill, industry, and patience with which Mr. Simmons has done his chosen job. It is the kind of secondary work which makes the primary work of interpretation and judgment possible; it lays open chances and predicts choices of thought.

For example, it gives a chance—and I do not think Maude's biography, because it was a disciple's job, did this—to see Tolstoy as the great exemplar of the man who in life or thought could never reach a tolerable relation with any existing form of society, but who through his imaginative work, through the free institution of the novel, again and again reached relations either satisfactory or fatal, not with a utopian society, but with the actual society at hand.

That was Tolstoy's case. In what is called thought he could only destroy, reject, or deny; in what is called art he was compelled to create, accept, and affirm. His intellectual distrust of society was not that of skepticism but of incapacity, waywardness, and the fractionalism of ignorance; the skepticism that haunts his novels was that of creation, momentum, and deep knowledge. The type is not uncommon, it varies from Plato to Stendhal to Yeats; but Tolstoy was the extreme of the type because he raised to passionate intensity every aspect of the split which is its characteristic. This he could do because he had never been educated not to; he had never been educated in the compensatory, destructive costs of his series of individual ideals—though if he had looked back on it from the perspective of the Leo Tolstoy railroad station, where he died, he might have seen the wreck of his own life as a token of the general cost.

He knew that his ideals—of anarchism, pacifism, chastity, freedom from possessions, and the gospel of the Sermon on the Mount—were unrealizable, but he did not, in his thought and action, know at what level of the effort to realize them they destroyed themselves and became their own monsters. That is, he had in life no means of playing

out fruitfully the roles his ideals required of him. Therefore all his heroisms were heroic fallacies. He could not create the truth of them either in his own life or in the lives of his disciples. Naturally his disciples were what his wife called the "dark, dark people! Morally sick and wretched!" and he himself remained the Pharisee in his own temple.

How did this happen to the author of "War and Peace," "Anna Karenina," "The Death of Ivan Ilyich," "Resurrection," and all the rest? Why did the deep and plastic order of his art become the rancorous and intransigent anarchy of his mind? Why did what was lovable and lovely in life and art become in life and thought the source of a spreading and frantic grudge? Why did every instinct that required harmony take to expressing itself in conflict?

The questions are lyric, and in their asking is their answer. But beside the question we can set one or two series of suggestive statements, doubtless not true at all in themselves, but true enough when taken with the questions. So far as we know, Tolstoy lived and saw directly; he made up his own mind. That is, he ignored the barriers to vision and made no allowance for most of the elements that lead to decision; he believed his conscious mind alone was equal to both its traditional and its unconscious roles. Thus it was natural for him to distrust medicine and science, politics and church. He who believes that he has made up his own mind will always find himself in a heretical position with regard to his own orthodoxy—let alone in regard to the undisclosed general orthodoxy; but he will be unable to know this, and will on the contrary regard his own mind as omniscient. Except for its disciples, such a mind will always find itself dispossessed, and in society even its sincerity—the virtue it really has—will be impugned. Society will say of him: Yes, that is what he thinks; but he really knows better.

Such is the fate of a mind which depends in its intellectual work upon undigested common sense. Undigested common sense will cut through and dissolve the folly in one's own mind but will not replace it; its only effect on the minds of others is to harden the folly it touches. For example, in Tolstoy's life, his letter to the new Czar asking him to free his father's assassins, and again the authority which he assigned to his own uninstructed examination and citation of the Gospels. As these labors of common sense are increasingly frustrated, the self-remedy of omniscience is the hardening of intransigence and the resort to prophecy. The results are right in the tragic sense that the mind that made them comes to depend entirely upon a society in which it cannot participate because it has not created it, and is therefore lost, lonely, and utterly deprived, as was Tolstoy at his death.

Such is one set of statements to put beside the Tolstoy questions. Another set is equally necessary. These same themes and procedures, these obsessive convictions, this addiction to the direct vision and to common sense, when submitted to the drive, the control, the form—if you like, to the institutional inertia—of the novel, became, as expressions of dramatic

possibilities, powerful participating forces in the actual society to which as argued arbitrary ideals they were mere intransigent affronts. No incapacity of Tolstoy's mind was so great as that which led him to condemn both his own and Shakespeare's greatest work because they showed no ideas. The truth was that the works showed ideas alive and actual; the truth was, as Augustine almost said, they added to God's creation in the life of art, where in the life of intellect, without the drive of society, they merely broke it down.

These two sets of statements have no necessary connection aside from the tragic questions which Tolstoy's life raises; but there they make the difference between frustration and achievement. They suggest also by what means one great function of art—the transformation of inadequate but passionate thought into overwhelming actuality—may be brought about. "When there is a Tolstoy in literature," Mr. Simmons cites Chekov, "then it is easy and pleasant to be a writer; even to recognize that one has not done or will not do anything is not so terrible, for Tolstoy does it for all."

R. P. BLACKMUR

Escape from Europe

UNDERGROUND TO PALESTINE. By I. F. Stone. Boni and Gaer. \$2.50

IZZY STONE, with his usual modesty, says that he can only record what he "saw and heard, traveling with the less fortunate but bravest of my people." But "Underground to Palestine" is far more than a factual report on the great

movement out of Europe by the Jewish people. It is in reality a case history which buttresses and supports the historic letter of Earl Harrison to President Truman in 1945 on the same subject; which breathes life and gives reality to the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee.

When Stone traveled the Jewish underground in Europe and arrived ultimately in Palestine on a so-called illegal boat, he did something which no official could possibly do. He got first-hand testimony from the displaced Jews, as a friend. He became one of them. The leaky boats on which they got to Palestine were described to us on the Anglo-American Committee by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, when he testified before us in Jerusalem. But no testimony, even from such a high source, could possibly take the place of the moving eyewitness account which Stone gives in "Underground to Palestine." We knew, of course, of the great exodus from Europe of the Jewish people, an exodus unparalleled in their history. We dismissed as impracticable the repeated suggestions, some from good and others from questionable sources, that the fragment of the Jewish people should be persuaded to stay in Europe. What Stone does is to make the reader see and understand why we reached that decision, why the surviving Jews of Europe must leave that hate-infested continent, and why in overwhelming majority they want, indeed, are compelled by circumstances, to go to Palestine.

Stone makes it clear, as it was clear to us, that nothing will stop these persecuted people from rebuilding a great Jewish community in Palestine. That is a cardinal fact. It is a fact which I am afraid is not grasped either by Mr. Bevin or Mr. Byrnes. The record of the past two years shows that the British Foreign Office and the United States State Department can hinder these people in their desire to go home, can delay them, but cannot stop them. Yet the delaying tactics continue, and the need for a decisive solution becomes more and more acute.

All who are familiar with the subject of the displaced Jews and Palestine are obliged to come to Stone's conclusions. It is folly for the Jewish people to expect anything from the present British government except disappointment, betrayal, and attack, in spite of the strong opposition within the Labor Party, led by Dick Crossman. This is so because those in control of British policy feel the need of developing a strong Arab bloc of states to offset any possible excursion by the Soviet Union into the Middle East. There is also the belief, held by some members of the Foreign Office, that the returning Jews bring to Palestine the modern ideas of the West, and consequently jeopardize the colonial structure of the whole Middle East. Thus the further development of the National Home is regarded in certain British quarters not only as a threat to the colonial and feudal pattern of the Palestinian Arabs but as a potential threat to the entire British position in that region.

Izzy Stone has pointed out the ceaseless struggle of the Jewish survivors of Nazi persecution against the British determination to maintain post-war control of all the Middle East. He correctly evaluates British policy, but I believe he has overlooked the fact that Britain could not possibly pursue that policy without the tacit and in some instances the active

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support of the American State Department. Our American policy of expediency and delay is followed despite the earnest, well-intentioned efforts of President Truman to clean out the camps of Europe.

I hope that every member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will read "Underground to Palestine." The publisher should see that Ernest Bevin and Clement Attlee have copies. They need particularly to read it. Britain is making a ghastly mistake in Palestine. So are we.

We desperately need, together with the British, to recapture the moral prestige which the Western democracies have forfeited. In the long run, helping the Jews in the creation and development of the National Home in Palestine is helping ourselves. For it is not possible for the Middle East to remain an area of backwardness, a territory of natives and native rulers to be handled in the traditional, imperialistic way. The fact is plain for all to see: colonial peoples everywhere in the world are on the march toward freedom. In the vanguard of that march are the Jewish pioneers. It is of them that Stone has written so simply and so nobly.

BARTLEY C. CRUM

BRIEFER COMMENT

Roosevelt's Doctor

VICE-ADMIRAL MCINTIRE'S book, "White House Physician" (Putnam, \$3), written "in collaboration with" George Creel, presents indispensable detail concerning Roosevelt's health during the twelve years of his Presidency. Its tone in these matters is inevitably somewhat defensive, but Dr. McIntire's cheery confidence about Roosevelt's physical condition in 1944 appears in retrospect to be justified by the available medical evidence, and cerebral hemorrhage is in any case swift and unforeseeable in its action.

Apart from the medical data, "White House Physician" contains a miscellany of reminiscence drawn from McIntire's tour of duty with Roosevelt. The doctor is typical of several people who were close to F. D. R. through his Presidency but managed to avoid much interest in or understanding of the New Deal. His political hero is evidently Cordell Hull; he regards Ed Stettinius as a much underrated Secretary of State, as if that were possible; and he can remark of Admiral Leahy, "No man had more intimate knowledge of French politics and politicians." One misses only a eulogy of Leo Crowley.

The political perceptions are thus not acute, but a wealth of revealing incident slips in none the less. McIntire supplies a pathetic and unforgettable addition to the picture of Roosevelt's acceptance address at Philadelphia in 1936. A bolt in the President's braces snapped open as he advanced toward the platform, throwing him off balance and scattering the pages of his speech; but he recovered to deliver that stirring oration—"This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny"—reshuffling the misplaced pages with complete aplomb. There is a curious passage about Roosevelt's impulse to refuse the 1940 nomination because of the convention's resistance to Henry Wallace; and McIntire makes it quite clear that Bill Douglas was Roosevelt's first choice

for the Vice-Presidency in 1944. Connoisseurs of the post-humous squabble over Roosevelt's foreign policy will note that the President apparently talked more skeptically about communism and the U. S. S. R. to his physician than to his son.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

Alexander H. Stephens

THE STATUE OF ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS in the Capitol in Washington is dwarfed between the over-size figures of Zebulon Vance of North Carolina and Ethan

COMMENTARY

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"THE INTELLECTUALS AND EUROPE'S FUTURE,"

by Stephen Spender

What hope is there for a reopening of the international lines of communication in the world of thought?

"FROM MARXISM TO JUDAISM," by Will Herberg

A labor leader and radical tells why he now thinks Jewish religious belief superior to Marxism as a dynamic for social reconstruction.

"PALESTINE: A POSSIBLE SOLUTION," by Alvin Johnson

An outstanding social thinker offers the non-territorial federal state as his answer to the dilemma of conflicting interests in Palestine.

"DEMOCRACY NEEDS THE OPEN DOOR," by Oscar Handlin

Why we need new immigrants if we are to overcome the social and political hardening that has resulted from our quota restrictions.

"TALES OF THE HASIDIM," by Martin Buber

Legends and sayings of the giants of eastern European Judaism, collected and retold by a great German-Jewish scholar.

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The political implications of Arthur Koestler's *Thieves in the Night*.

"THE AMERICANISM OF ADOLPH S. OCHS," by Louis Berg

An analysis of the man who made the *New York Times*, and of his pattern of Jewish adjustment to America.

"ADJUSTING MEN TO MACHINES," by Daniel Bell

How the sociologists of factory life seek to make the worker happy—and increase "efficiency." An appraisal of recent studies.

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Allen. Even in marble Stephens seems frail and insubstantial. This is the Southern political leader who opposed secession but became the Vice-President of the Confederacy, who resisted the concentration of power in the hands of Jefferson Davis and was more concerned with the preservation of constitutional government in the Southern states than with the effective waging of war, who flirted with the idea of the secession of his native state from the Confederacy. On the base of his statue is carved the quotation, "I am afraid of nothing on the earth, above the earth, beneath the earth, except to do wrong," and it is more accurate than many a political epitaph; his concept of right may have been at times quixotic, but he served it with all the amazing energy and determination of his fragile body.

Stephens was a public figure for more than forty years, but it is his present biographer's attention to him "as a man, a problem in the psychology of personality, motivation, and behavior," which gives Rudolph von Abele's "Alexander H. Stephens: A Biography" (Knopf, \$4) its particular appeal. Von Abele explores Stephens's prolonged periods of gloom and depression, his curious dependence upon his brother Linton, his "adoration of the twin concepts of justice and law." Stephens was elected to Congress from Georgia in his thirty-first year in 1843; his first speech was an attack upon his right to hold the seat to which he had been elected from the state at large, in violation of the act of Congress requiring election by districts. During his next sixteen years in Congress—he resigned on the eve of the Civil War—his pursuit of justice took him through all the political battles of that turbulent period; he led, for example, the Whig opposi-

tion to the war with Mexico as an illegal war of conquest.

As Vice-President of the Confederacy Stephens opposed conscription, opposed martial law, opposed the suspension of habeas corpus as attacks within the Confederacy upon the freedoms which he felt the Confederacy was fighting to preserve. It must have been with some restraint that Jefferson Davis wrote to him that he wished Stephens, instead of creating "distrust in me among the people," would devote his "great and admitted ability exclusively to upholding the confidence and animating the spirit of the people to unconquerable resistance against their foes."

After the war Stephens was imprisoned at Fort Warren in Boston harbor. He was elected to the Senate of the United States in 1866 but was not admitted to that body. In 1873 he was elected to the House of Representatives, and there he remained until 1882, "in his roller-chair, in the open space just under the Speaker's desk . . . the strangest figure in the Capitol since John Randolph." Already dying, he was elected Governor of Georgia in 1882 and clung to life until March of the next year.

Von Abele tells the story of Stephens's life and examines its significance in a highly readable volume—and one which is remarkably mature for a biographer in his twenty-third year. If, as one suspects, this is a reworking of the author's doctoral thesis, it is an example of imaginative academic research of a quality too rarely met with.

COLEMAN ROSENBERGER

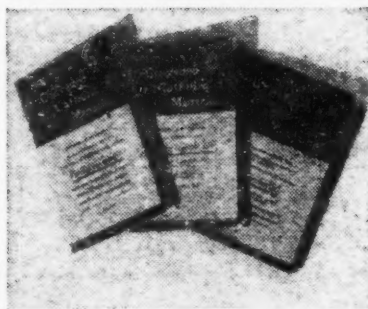
Last week's review of "Lord Weary's Castle" was written by Randall Jarrell, whose name was accidentally omitted.

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Films

JAMES
AGEE

Movies in 1946

OF THE films of 1946 that I saw—I missed a number of likely candidates—I liked most "The Best Years of Our Lives," "Brief Encounter," "Henry V," "Let There Be Light," "Open City," and "The Raider."

"The Best Years" is equivocal in story, but in front of the camera—and this is still more important—it is done about as well as a movie can imaginably be, made among the frustrating facilities of a contemporary American studio.

Much of "Brief Encounter" is very likable and affecting; it seems to me the best romance since "Mayerling." It is a shriveling commentary, though, on the reality of the run of films, that so many people have spoken of this one almost as if Noel Coward had personally invented realism—and wholly as if the realism in this film were of an adventurous or even a high order. It seems to me, instead, a particularly neat sample of how to *package* realism, astutely modifying everything that might make the package fit clumsily into a lady's handbag.

In making "Henry V" Laurence Olivier and his associates chose to serve Shakespeare rather than to compete with him—and served him with honor, ingenuity, and grace. The bolder attempt would even in principle have excited me more; great movie poetry, deliberately or intuitively undertaken from scratch, without benefit of hindrance of a classic, I think still better of than that. But neither preference qualifies my admiration or my love for this beautiful film as it stands; nor am I terribly disturbed because it is a patriotic film, finds a good deal of good in war, and tells sympathetically of a cynical invasion.

"Let There Be Light," John Huston's intelligent, noble, fiercely moving short film about combat neurosis and some of the more spectacular kinds of therapy, will probably never be seen by the

civilian public for whose need, and on whose money, it was made. The War Department has mumbled a number of reasons why it has been withheld; the glaring obvious reason has not been mentioned: that any sane human being who saw the film would join the armed services, if at all, with a straight face and a painfully maturing mind. In a nation with half its forebrain left and a thousandth of its moral intelligence, even such a little suppression as this would cause a monstrous scandal, and an adequate fight. But in such a nation the general reaction to a good many more disastrous bits of crime and cowardice would long ago have had such effect that by now you would hardly recognize the place, and might not even need to be ashamed to be a part of it.

Of the films I have seen this year "Open City" is by all odds the best; and I beg leave—of those who don't dare admit they are ever capable of an opinion before they examine a piece of work—to doubt that "The Razor's Edge" or even "The Strange Love of Martha Ivers" is likely to be as good. "Open City" goes far in what I believe is the best general direction movies might take, now and within the discernible future. By this I don't mean they need be socially or politically hot under the collar—though much of the spirit and grandeur of this film come of that kind of heat. I do mean that the theme or story needs to be passionately felt and intimately understood, and that it should be a theme or story worthy of such knowledge and passion. I also put my deepest hope and faith in the future of movies in their being made on relatively little money, as much at least by gifted amateurs as by professionals, in actual rather than imitated places, with the binding energy, eye, conviction, and delight in work which are fostered in good-enough people by that predicament and which are at best hindered by commercial work in studios. As I saw to some extent when I reviewed the film and as an article by James T. Farrell has made much clearer to me, the film is among other things Communist propaganda. I don't enjoy this fact; but that cannot prevent my thinking "Open City" the best movie of its year and one of the best and most heartening in many years. It seems to be time, after many centuries of flagrant proof, to get used to the fact that by no means all one's enemies, or friends, for that matter, line up comfortably in the same camp, however the lines are drawn; and that no one group, however well accred-

ited, has a monopoly on the human or the creative soul.

Like "Open City," "The Raider" puts amateurs through a reenactment, mainly of actual events. Like "Open City," it triumphantly demonstrates how well that can be done. It is less furiously felt and more honest; its theme, if less grandiose, is nevertheless a fine one. Since I think so highly of both films I should take special care to make clear that this is not *because* they use non-actors, or are semi-documentary, or are "realistic." It is, rather, that they show a livelier aesthetic and moral respect for reality—which "realism" can as readily smother as liberate—than most fictional films, commercial investments in professional reliability, ever manage to. If they are helped to this—as they are—by their concern for actual people and places, that is more than can be said for most documentaries, which by average are as dismally hostile to reality as most fiction films. The films I most eagerly look forward to will not be documentaries but works of pure fiction, played against, and into, and in collaboration with unrehearsed and uninvented reality.

A few notes at random.

We saw last year about the last of films made during or directly inspired by the war: it is clear that many gifted people, such as William Wyler ("The Best Years"), and Olivier, and Huston, and John Ford, grew greatly during the war. From now on we shall see what they can do with this new maturity during the next interval of peace. My best wishes, God knows, are with them; my bets are against them. Once in a while, quite certainly, a good film is sure to get made; but my bet is that the next ten years or so will be even harder for good people to work through than the last; that soon there will no longer be a place on earth where honest talent will be allowed to break loose from the asylum for more than a male nurse's afternoon off.

It is said of J. Arthur Rank, under whom three of the listed films were made, that he intends to continue shooting for big money with one hand and backing small-audience talent with the other. I hope so; and will bet that within five years—three if you like—it will be as hard to make a good film in England as in Hollywood; and that Mr. Rank will be chiefly responsible. My reason? I suggest that you consult both God and Mammon on which is the more successful in coping with the servant problem.

I have the same doubtful hope and

WHERE HENRY WALLACE WENT WRONG

by Louis Fischer

FEBRUARY ISSUE OF
THIS MONTH MAGAZINE
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January 25, 1947

best wishes for Republic's low-budget investment in such films as Ben Hecht's "Specter of the Rose" and—in 1945—Gustav Machaty's "Jealousy." I hope the policy will be continued; I wish it would be extended. But that will be useless unless such opportunities are sought by, and given to, people who are capable of taking mature advantage of them.

This was the year during which Sergei Eisenstein once more got it in the eye. Part Two of "Ivan the Terrible" will never be released; Part Three will never even be made; Eisenstein was once more called a bourgeois and a formalist, and other words almost as dirty. Civilization has come a long way since the days when in Vienna, the High Altar of western music, Mozart and Schubert could die so young, largely for want of mere patronage. Today we appreciate our men of genius. In Russia we make corpses of them, living or genuine; here we drown them in cream.

The Hays office became the Johnston office. It remained possible, as before, to say almost anything if it was prurient, childish, or false enough in the first place and sneakily enough said in the second. It remained impossible, as before, to say anything whatever, without sneaking it, which might move or interest anyone past the moral age of five.

Quite a few Hollywood people amused themselves as best they could in their captivity by making such nostalgic and amusing, if far from original melodramas as "The Killers," "The Big Sleep," and "The Dark Corner." Such harmless little slumming parties were treated by a number of critics, reviewers, and editorial writers as if they were a sinister mirror of American morals, psychology, society, and art. Since practically every movie is, to quite some extent, I can't insist that these were happy exceptions, except in so far as they were relatively intelligent, accurate at least to something in this world, and entertaining. I realize also that on its most careful level, as practiced by Dr. Siegfried Kracauer or Barbara Deming, this sort of analysis is of interest and value, dubious as I am about a good deal of it. But to me, the most sinister single thing that happened during the movie year was the emergence of just this kind of analysis—or rather, was the way in which it was indorsed by those incapable of it. I have long postponed writing on this difficult subject and must now again postpone: but briefly, for reasons which transcend movie boundaries, I am deadly alarmed to find that the function once performed, harm-

fully enough, by clubwomen and the nastier kinds of church pressure groups is now taken over, without a murmur or even a sign of divided consciousness, by the kind of people who used most earnestly to oppose priggishness.

Most lists of "the ten best" this year, including my own list of six, went very thin on Hollywood; and many reviewers commented on the fact, rather as if Hollywood had hit the nadir. It seems to me unjust to single out for sudden vilification one particular Hollywood year when every year for so long a time has been so very moderately fresh an egg.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

COLUMBIA has issued three of Mozart's sonatas for piano and violin—the lovely K. 296 in C and K. 378 in B flat, the powerful K. 379 in G—performed by Alexander Schneider and Ralph Kirkpatrick on the violin and harpsichord (Set 650; \$6.85). Mozart wrote for the piano; and the only justification for the use of the harpsichord is that his piano—as I once had an opportunity to hear in Salzburg—had a more delicate and otherwise different sound from ours. This justification is destroyed by the pounding that Kirkpatrick does much of the time; but whereas the pounding and clatter were unrelieved at the one concert of Schneider and Kirkpatrick that I heard a few years ago, and drove me out of the hall before the end, these recorded performances have passages in which Kirkpatrick plays with beautifully sensitive phraseological inflection—a particularly fine example being the penultimate variation in the finale of K. 379. In these passages his playing increases the pleasure I get from the superb playing of Schneider; in the others it is a disturbance which makes me long for the performances I can imagine Schneider giving with Franz Rupp. The recorded sound of the violin comes out of a wide-range machine brash and coarse, but improves with limitation of range; the sound of the harpsichord is dull—whether because of the instrument or because of the recording I do not know.

In another set (643; \$4.85) Pinza sings several Mozart arias with the Metropolitan Opera orchestra under Walter. I have reservations about Pinza's operatic performances, but fewest

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about his Figaro; and the sharpness of his *Se vuol ballare*, the bitter humor of his *Aprite un po' quegli occhi*—as against the smoothness, the pathos of Domgraf-Fassbender in the Glyndebourne performance—seem effective and excellent to me. His sustained singing of *In diesen heiligen Hallen* from "The Magic Flute," his animated delivery of Osmin's aria from "The Seraglio," (both in Italian), his performance of a—for me—rather uninteresting concert aria by Mozart, *Menire ti lascio, o figlia*—these too I find good. The one performance which definitely does not come off, in spite of all the vocal hamming he puts into it, is the Catalogue Aria from "Don Giovanni." The records reproduce his singing with clarity and power that are lacking in the sound of the orchestra.

The Budapest Quartet's performance of Haydn's Quartet Opus 74 No. 3 (Set X-274; \$2.85) sounds as though it was recorded last year, when the group betrayed fatigue and boredom from the excessive amount of playing it had been doing. It is polished in execution and style, but without the subtle and exciting animation in the ensemble inflection of the performance of Haydn's Opus 54 No. 1 by the Roisman-Schneider-Ipolys-Schneider group in the HMV-Victor set. And its recorded sound has none of the warmth and luster of the Victor performance.

Prokofiev's Symphony No. 5 is not one of the works of his that sound as though they had been turned out by his technical apparatus while his mind was occupied with other things. It is a real and solid piece of music, with sustained and involved construction which required hard thinking from the composer and requires it from the listener. And it is a pleasure to know that Prokofiev is still able to produce such a work, and that it can be produced in Russia and succeed there. Knowing the work only from a couple of performances, and having no score, I can't tell whether Rodzinski's performance with the New York Philharmonic (Set 661; \$5.85) is as good as it seems; but I can say that its recorded sound is cold and gray and a little harsh.

Even less well recorded—with drabber and murkier sound—is Ormandy's performance of Brahms's Third Symphony with the Philadelphia Orchestra (Set 642; \$4.85). The performance is surprisingly straightforward for Ormandy, and quite acceptable—though hardly necessary with Weingartner's in the Columbia catalogue. And though Walter's performance of Beethoven's

"Pastoral" Symphony with the Philadelphia Orchestra (Set 631; \$5.85) is very good and its recorded sound is clear and bright, I can't imagine anyone preferring it to Toscanini's marvelous performance and the additional warmth and luster of its recorded sound. That warmth and luster is lacking also in the recorded sound of Reiner's good performance of Mussorgsky's "Night on Bald Mountain" (presumably as edited by Rimsky-Korsakov) with the Pittsburgh Symphony (12460-4; \$1).

Casadesu's smooth and characterless performances of Book 2 of Debussy's Preludes (Set 644; \$5.25) do not give me any illusion of hearing more in the pieces than the playing around with mere stylistic formulas and mannerisms and piano sonorities that I have always heard. And poor recording—which deprives the piano sound of all its rich resonance and makes it weak in the upper range—robs the pieces of even their exquisite effects of piano sonority.

This poor recording aggravates the sound of Oscar Levant's insensitive treatment of instrument and music in a performance of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 27 No. 2 (known as the "Moonlight") (Set X-273; \$2.85).

A surprisingly large number of the records have noisy, gritty, sputtering surfaces; and there are a number of sides with wavering pitch.

Drama Note

THE BIG TWO" (Booth Theater) is another instalment of the lengthening saga of the female war correspondent. A good many more plays, novels, and movies will have to be written before the full story is known, but it is already evident that neither the war nor the peace could have been won without her intelligence, her courage, and her sex appeal. Take, for example, the case of the better understanding—which you may or may not have noticed—between Russia and the United States. "The Big Two" reveals for the first time that it really began at a Bavarian hotel where a female correspondent engaged on an important but purely unofficial enterprise of her own fell for a handsome Russian officer. You would be surprised to know how human these Bolsheviks can become in the dark, and if it were not for this play you would probably never know that when the lights went up again the whole future of Anglo-Russian relations looked brighter. These things, it appears, are

best settled, not around the conference table, but between the sheets. Claire Trevor is attractive as our heroine, and several competent actors do the best they can.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Dance

ONLY in performance is theater art sharpened to life or dulled to death—through the qualities of the interpreter. This is even more true of the dance than of drama and music, which can be partially realized in reading, or of sets and costumes, which to some extent convey meaning even as sketches or designs. But the dance, existing in performance only, depends almost entirely on quality of performance for communicating its effect.

In José Limón's recent Broadway debut at the Belasco Theater a quality of performance was maintained which once again demonstrated that the virtues of a "school" of theater art derive not from theories exemplified but from forms achieved in performance. Mr. Limón is easily the outstanding male dancer of that Sunday-night school of the dance commonly known as "modern." In "Lament for Ignacio Sanchez Mejias," after the García Lorca poem, Limón, dancing with a lyricism and strength rarely seen on Broadway, revealed the full beauty of the choreography created by Doris Humphrey. He has a compact yet free-flowing style in which every movement tells; it was perfect for the stylized Spanish material. The excellence of his interpretation was matched by Letitia Ide's fine performance as the Figure of Destiny. Together they wove a wonderfully compelling dance of doom to the reiterated "at five in the afternoon." The one jarring note was Meg Mundy's performance as Figure of a Woman.

Unfortunately the final curtain of the evening did not fall on "Lament" but on a long something called "The Story of Mankind," a dull, self-conscious attempt at social comment, irony, and so on, on which no self-respecting curtain should ever have risen.

The entire program will be repeated on February 22 at the Needle Trades High School on West Twenty-fourth Street and on February 23 at the Ninety-second Street Y. M. H. A. Because Limón is an exceptionally talented dancer and because "Lament" is a profoundly moving dance, these are performances not to be missed.

VIRGINIA MISHNUN

Letters to the Editors

Insult to Isherwood?

Dear Sirs: I must confess that I find Diana Trilling's remarks on Christopher Isherwood's novel "The Memorial" very puzzling. Are we to assume that she considers the date when a book was written an important factor in judging its literary merit? A number of English critics of the highest standing have at one time or another expressed the opinion that "The Memorial" was Isherwood's finest work of fiction. Accordingly, it seemed worth while to bring out an edition of it in America. I feel that Mrs. Trilling has been singularly insulting to a writer generally acknowledged to be a serious and important artist in denying the favor of her unquestioned critical gifts simply because the book was not written in the past years. Its theme is timeless, and literally dozens of experts—writers and critics—have commented on the brilliance of its execution.

JAMES LAUGHLIN,
New Directions Press

New York, January 2

No—Ethical Protest

Dear Sirs: Mr. Laughlin forces me to expand a comment which I preferred to keep brief. I think it was perfectly clear that the few sentences I wrote about "The Memorial" were not intended as a review of that book or as criticism of Mr. Laughlin for reissuing it. I think it was equally clear that they were intended as censure of Mr. Laughlin for bringing out an old book as if it were a new one. By omitting all mention, in the book itself, on its dust jacket, or in its extensive advertising, of the fact that "The Memorial" is an early work of Mr. Isherwood, originally published in England in 1932 but hitherto unknown in this country, surely the New Directions Press has been willing to let readers infer that here was a new novel by the author of the recent successful "Prater Violet"—a mistake which has been made very generally. I consider this bad publishing practice, even bad publishing ethics; and I am especially disturbed that a press which was founded in protest against ordinary commercial methods should be guilty of it.

Obviously, all this has nothing to do with the quality of Mr. Isherwood's novel. Or perhaps it has only this much bearing—that it might be useful for

readers to know how to place "The Memorial" in the line of its author's development. When time permits, I hope to consider Mr. Isherwood's early novel as a literary work, quite without reference to the questionable circumstances of its republication.

DIANA TRILLING

New York, January 14

Everybody's Battle

Dear Sirs: When I hear the comment that the unions are cutting their own throats by making new demands in the face of public hostility after the Lewis fiasco, I note that the wish is frequently father to the thought. And I must admit that if, indeed, the unions could be exterminated the labor problem would be solved much as Hitlerism would have solved the Jewish problem by exterminating all Jews. But inasmuch as organized labor will not collapse and die until wage-earning America decides upon suicide, we may logically expect the unions to fight. In fact, a great number of non-union Americans have refused to be taken in by the anti-labor hullabaloo and have set out to get the whole truth. For just as the problem of Jewish survival turned out to be a problem of human survival in general, so the mounting attack on labor unions is today even more clearly an attack on the living standards of the average man and upon democratic rights in general. It is an ominous prelude to what is being prepared by American Action and similar outfits, and points up the need for an economic and political bulwark of democratic unity all along the line.

J. KNOWLES ROBBINS

St. Louis, December 23

Two Kinds of Realism

Dear Sirs: In the review of Sumner Welles's new book, by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (*Nation*, November 16), I note with interest Mr. Schlesinger's statement that "his [Welles's] realism requires him to add that non-democratic countries have inherent tendencies toward instability which lead them to violate international agreements." From the context of the statement it is plain that prominent among the "non-democratic" countries referred to is the U. S. S. R. Since Mr. Schlesinger is a reliable reporter, I assume that the statement is

a correct representation of Mr. Welles's views, and since Mr. Schlesinger describes it as realistic I assume that he concurs in it.

I am afraid that the Welles-Schlesinger "realism," like so many others, is not quite an accurate representation of reality. It is not my intention, needless to say, to defend the foreign policy of such non-democratic states as Japan, Germany, and Italy. But I think that the probity of the U. S. S. R. in the conduct of its foreign affairs since the First World War has been equal, at least, to that of such indubitably democratic states as England and France. There are, to be sure, some large black marks against the Kremlin, but on three of the most significant issues which confronted the world in the period before the recent war—Ethiopia, Spain, Czechoslovakia—the Soviets were right and Britain and France were wrong, legally as well as morally.

And what of events since the recent war? Score one against the Soviets for remaining in Iran beyond the date permitted by their treaty. But chalk one up, too, against Britain, for treating as a Crown colony the Holy Land, in which its only rightful title is as a mandatory power under the League. I am afraid that not even a Philadelphia lawyer could prove that the British have lived up to the terms of the mandate.

I have attempted to keep close to the subject—the relative records of the Soviet Union and the democracies in honoring international agreements. But the discussion would be far more revealing if we were to inquire into the tendencies—toward stability or instability—which bring about the remarkable spectacle of genuinely democratic governments laboring earnestly to stamp out the elements of democracy everywhere except within their own borders. The word "realism" has, I believe, been used in describing this policy, too.

B. R. SCHUTZ

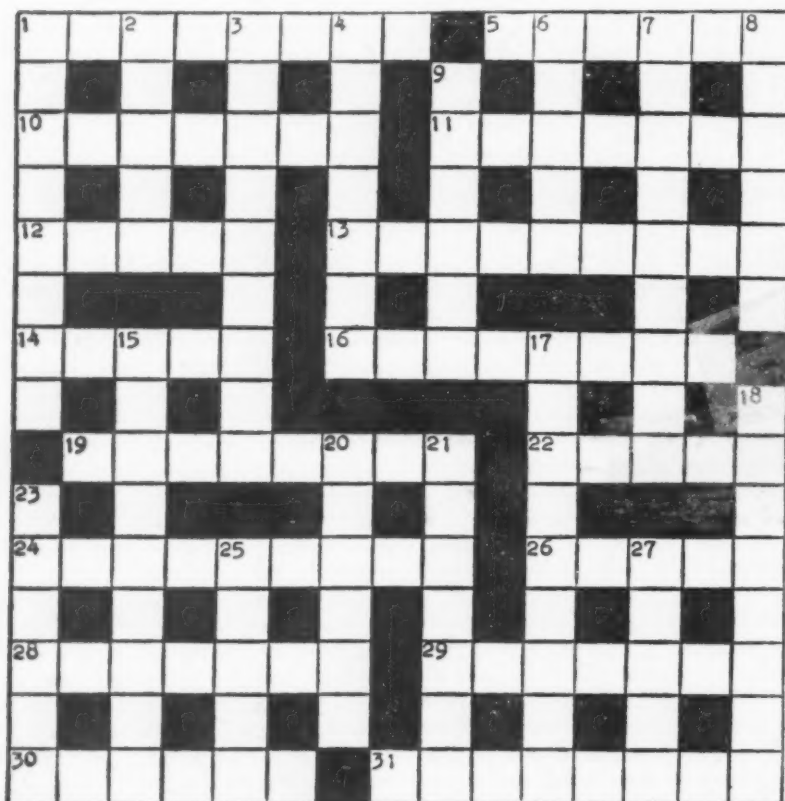
Peekskill, N. Y. December 2

Aid for Chinese Writers

Dear Sirs: Chinese writers today have neither money nor markets. Many publishing houses have been forced out of business by the disastrous inflation, the paper shortage, the loss of printing machinery, and the lack of communications. More than two hundred newspapers and

Crossword Puzzle No. 196

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 It is lamentably bad art
 5 They date from the days when floors were cold and dirty
 10 Hogarth's marriage (1, 2, 4)
 11 North African country from which we get A-1 lager
 12 Choice
 13 The colonel has a covenant to work with us
 14 Sorry, I seem to have upset the cruet
 16 Ammunition for a winter campaign
 19 Song for a mad girl or a grim lad
 22 "An elegant sufficiency, content, Retirement, ----- quiet, friendship, books, Ease and alternate labor, useful life, Progressive virtue, and approving Heaven!"
 24 Around 51 it's clear one gets forgetful
 26 Upper part of the hip-bone
 28 Tea, Tess? (anag.)
 29 Not a riot car, but a riot finishes it
 30 In the sere and yellow leaf phase for some time, apparently
 31 For the boy, or the buoy

DOWN

- 1 Rats! (4 and 4)
 2 Surly animals when their heads are sore
 3 Automobile with seats outside (3-6)
 4 Sheep's coats—not their cotes

- 6 European capital which gives you "the shivers"
 7 Not uniform, and usually doesn't wear one
 8 Replacements for a press
 9 A hunting cry
 15 Quack
 17 Breastwork much used in street fighting in Parisian insurrections
 18 What Clem is at may be climbing the wall
 20 Reformed rogues, these birds
 21 "Better late than never" doesn't seem such a hot motto when you miss this (4 and 3)
 23 They stir up burning matters
 25 A matter of life or death, but mostly life
 27 A flowery language, from the look of it

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 195

ACROSS:—1 PEREGRINATION; 10 REDDOUBT; 11 WOLFRAM; 12 EARLIER; 13 EYEWEAR; 14 WEEKEND; 15 RESTFUL; 16 COPPERS; 20 GRANADA; 23 TOECAPS; 24 LOCKNUT; 25 MEASURE; 26 ANDIRON; 27 SEVENTH HEAVEN.

DOWN:—2 ENDORSE; 3 ELUSIVE; 4 RETIRED; 5 NEW YEAR; 6 TELLERS; 7 OURSELF; 8 GREENWICH TIME; 9 UMBRELLA STAND; 17 PRELATE; 18 ERASURE; 19 SUSPECT; 20 GOLIATH; 21 ARCADIA; 22 AINTREE.

magazines have been closed down the government in its rigid program "thought control." The result is that the economic position of most writers has been worse rather than better since the end of the war.

With very little or no money to be earned by literary work, many have become clerks, bookkeepers, or teachers, but prices have risen so steeply that the wages are not enough to support the families. Others are too ill for any sort of work. Tuberculosis and other diseases caused by overcrowding and undernourishment are spreading among them. A whole generation of Chinese writers may be sacrificed.

There is an organization through which many of them can be helped. The Chinese Writers' Association, founded in 1938, became famous during the war for its work with the armies and behind the front. The association has now made an appeal for help from abroad, its members being too proud to ask for such assistance, but we learn that it is excellently equipped to distribute any funds contributed by American writers. The undersigned members of the P. E. N. Club, who are deeply concerned about their Chinese friends and colleagues, are therefore making this appeal on their own responsibility.

We are entreating you to send a check marked in the corner "For China" to the P. E. N. International Relief Fund, 123 East Ninety-fourth Street, New York 28. Such contributions are income-tax deductible, and they will be distributed without administrative expenses either here or in China. They will be used to make direct grants to the neediest writers for food, medicine, clothing, and shelter.

CARL CARMER, EDGAR SNOW, MALCOLM COWLEY, JOHN P. MARQUAND, AGNES SMEDLEY, THEODORE WHITE, JOHN HERSEY, ANNALIE JACOB
 New York, December 27

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